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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.



COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XI.

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NOTE.

Volume Eleven of the New Series of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society contains reports of the Semi-Annual Meeting, April 29, 1896, the Annual Meeting, October 21, 1896, and the Semi-Annual Meeting, April 26, 1897. In connection with the reports of the Council, are papers by J. Evarts Greene on "Our Dealings with the Indians," by Thomas C. Mendenhall on "Twenty Unsettled Miles in the Northeast Boundary," and by Charles A. Chase on "Some Great Trusts in the United States."

Biographical notices of deceased members have been prepared by Charles A. Chase, Albert H. Hoyt, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Andrew McFarland Davis, and Henry W. Haynes. There are also papers by James F. Hinnnewell, Andrew McFarland Davis, Stephen D. Peet, Egbert C. Smyth, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Eugene F. Bliss, Lucien Carr, and Nathaniel Paine.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

ERRATA.

- Page 5, line 21, for *King* read *Kingsley*.
Page 57, line 9, for *David* read *Daniel*.
Page 63, line 24, for *Piettre* read *Piette*.
Page 98, line 21, for *thirty-six* read *thirty-seven*.
Page 98, line 22, for *forty-seven* read *forty-six*.
Page 109, line 1n., for *Prov. Laws* read *Court Records*.
Page 109, line 2n., for *Ibid* read *Prov. Laws*.
Page 112, line 4n., for *104-5* read *104, 5*.
Page 115, line 22, for *Senate* read *Council*.
Page 116, note 4, for *Ibid* read *Court Records*. XXVI.
Page 145, line 12n., for *Valley* read *Basin*.
Page 147, line 4n., for *172* read *1720*.
Page 153, line 33, for *Thurston* read *Thruston*.
Page 147, line 6n., for *Vangoudy* read *Vaugondy*.
Page 188, line 6, for *Packenham* read *Pakenham*.
Page 241, line 23, for *Charles C.* read *Charles E.*
Page 244, line 11, for *Miss* read *Mrs.*
Page 244, line 35, for *Miss* read *Mrs.*
Page 255, lines 2 and 5, for *Pierce* read *Peirce*.
Page 308, line 9, for *It is a chap-book* read *It is in a chap-book*.
Page 322, line 32, for *1796* read *1896*.
Page 324, line 13, for *Froude* read *Frowde*.
Page 372, line 30, for *Henry W.* read *Henry M.*
Page 447, line 3, 4 and 1n., for *Ruttinber* read *Ruttenber*.
Page 457, line 5, for *1680* read *1681*.
Page 457, line 6, for *168⁰* read *1681*.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING. APRIL 29, 1896, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by President SALISBURY. In the absence of the Recording Secretary, NATHANIEL PAINE was elected Secretary *pro tempore*.

The following members were present; the names are given in the order of election:—

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock, J. Nicholas Brown, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Benjamin A. Gould, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, William DeLoss Love, Jr., Rockwood Hoar, James. L. Whitney, Lewis H. Boutell.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council with biographical sketches of Joseph Jones, M.D., and Hon. William W. Rice, prepared by Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE, was then presented by Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE. In continuance of the report of

the Council, Mr. GREENE read a paper on "Our Dealings with the Indians."

The Report of the Librarian, Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, was read.

After the Report of the Council, in which reference to the late Hon. William W. Rice was made, Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover, Mass., spoke as follows:—

I certainly do not arise with any thought of adding completeness to the tribute which is paid by Mr. Chase, but it has occurred to me while I have been sitting here that I have some remembrances of Mr. Rice which no one else may be in possession of, and think that I may be pardoned for referring to them in a very few words.

It so happened that I entered Bowdoin College when Mr. Rice was beginning his junior year. We became associated in one of the secret societies, which were then somewhat novel, and I recall with greatest pleasure the interest which he communicated to the meetings of that association, both in a literary and social way. But I would especially recall the very prominent part which he took in college as a leader in what one may call its public life. The college was then divided into two general societies, as was still the custom of Harvard and Yale and other institutions of learning. For one, I have been sorry that in these institutions of learning those general societies have quite disappeared; no doubt there is some good reason for it, but they certainly filled a part in college life and in training men for future careers, and I do not see how this could have been better accomplished.

There were many men who were not members of any club or any secret society, but seldom did a student fail, as early as was practicable, to unite himself to one or the other of these general societies. They were literary in their objects. Those who were connected with them will remember with what interest what was called "the paper"

was listened to, and how wide-spread was the desire in college so to write our English language, that those who had the editorship of the papers would be pleased to admit the contribution. There was a great stimulus in it. And beyond that, they were societies for discussion, and if any man in college had the capacity latent within him, it was brought out. Among the men who were most prominent was our late associate, Mr. William W. Rice. I suppose, indeed I am sure, there was no honor which the trustees and overseers or the faculty of the college could bestow upon the student which was prized so highly as to be elected the president or orator of one of those general societies. Mr. Rice, without any rival, was chosen orator, and I remember how well he fulfilled his part. There was always a dense audience when the oration and poem were delivered, and an interest was called forth in the educated community something like what is now excited by a game of football, or baseball, or a race in boats.

Mr. Rice was a leader naturally and spontaneously. He had a capacity for public affairs, which I cannot but think if illness had not fallen on him, and if he had been, I may venture to say in a high and honorable sense, a little more ambitious than he really was, would have made his public life even more illustrious than is shown in the record which he has left behind.

Senator HOAR after moving that the Report of the Council be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication for disposition, said:—

I would like, while commending very highly and without any reservation the conclusion of the exceedingly successful report which our associate has written, to say that it seems to me that what he has said may be fairly treated as coming within the general plan of this Society, and to deal with subjects which have become matters of past

history rather than present interest. Of course the steps of a great nation are slow, and a minute of time for a nation is years and sometimes a generation of an ordinary human life. But after all, the chapter of our history which records our dealings with the Indians as separate, independent and barbarous and sometimes hostile communities is being closed, and the only question left for us is whether its close shall be marked with wisdom and justice, or whether it shall be marked with the same qualities which have been so fitly described as it went on. But the Indian is rapidly becoming absorbed into the general national life, and cannot much longer exist as a separate element in it. Of course the dress and habits of ancestors will appear in individuals of the Indian race, but the white man will mingle with what is left of the Indian, and with the occupation of the Western lands, habits and civilization will spread over all that territory. You cannot have a separate Indian tribe where the telegraph wire, the telephone wire, the railroad and other modern improvements are passing through. Something happened in Congress a few years ago which interested the Indians. I was surprised one day to find in my mail a very well-written letter from Red Cloud, whom we regarded as a barbarous chief who had been kept down more by the superior power of Spotted Tail than by any power of the government, making an exceedingly successful suggestion, written I have no doubt by his own hand, and complaining of something that had been said about him. About the same time, perhaps two or three years after, when General Miles had captured Chief Joseph, after a pretty hard fight, there was an article in the *North American Review* discussing the cause of the outbreak, and the war conduct of Chief Joseph and his band, which was followed in the next number by an article replying to the first, by Chief Joseph himself; so the Indians had appeared in what was considered the great organ of respectability and civilization.

There is another fact which is perfectly well authenticated, I believe. Just before the outbreak of the last Sioux War, which was in 1868 I believe, a very distinguished graduate of Yale college was in charge of a surveying party in the region threatened by the Sioux. He knew the danger, and that the outbreak was coming, but he was very anxious to get through his work, and stayed a little longer than was prudent with his party; one day he was seated alone in a hut which they had built for their use, and he had sent out all his engineers and surveyors for their day's work. He was ciphering up the work of the day before, and about the middle of the forenoon, while engaged at his table, he happened to look up and saw standing at the end of the table, a young Sioux warrior in his war paint, completely armed and with a tomahawk in his belt, standing absolutely motionless in Indian fashion. He was a good deal struck with terror, as the next thing might be the use of the tomahawk, so he looked at the man and kept silent, and they stood gazing at each other; at last the Indian broke silence by saying "Can you tell me, sir, whether old Professor King of Yale College is living yet?"

It seemed that a young Englishman had been taken sick on a hunting expedition, and had been kindly cared for in a Sioux village, and had taken one of the boys to Rhode Island, and sent him to school, and had gone with him to England, and afterward sent him to Yale College. After the young Indian got through, he went back and resumed his habits of warfare, and having heard this graduate was in the neighborhood, he could not help but inquire after his old friend and instructor.

The Report of the Council was then accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

President SALISBURY stated that there were four vacan-

cies in the membership and that the Council recommended for election :—

WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, of Westborough, Mass.

EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, of Amherst, Mass.

LEONARD PARKER KINNICUTT, of Worcester, Mass.

Separate ballots on these names were taken and all were duly elected.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN said :—

At the Annual Meeting of this Society in Worcester, on October 24, 1894, the subject of affixing a capital letter to the clothing of a criminal, to be worn for a certain length of time by order of the Court, was brought to the attention of the members by our associate, Mr. Andrew McF. Davis. It will be remembered that a sentence of this kind was the thread on which was strung the plot of Hawthorne's famous novel, laid in early Colonial days. Mr. Davis gave some interesting facts in connection with the practice ; and the question was raised as to how late in point of time this form of punishment was enforced. (See Proceedings, new series, IX., 335.)

At that meeting, relying on my memory alone, I stated that I had seen, somewhere in a file of old newspapers, the record of a convicted person, who was obliged as a punishment to wear a letter on his clothing, and that the sentence was pronounced either during or since the Revolution, probably between the years 1775 and 1785. Taking no note of the item, I could not give an exact date of the occurrence. Within a short time, however, by a streak of luck, I have stumbled upon the paragraph in question, and now present a copy in confirmation of the statements then made. The item is found on the second page of *The Massachusetts Centinel* (Boston), October 22, 1785, and appears under the heading of "Springfield, October 4," where the Supreme Judicial Court had then just ended a

session. It is there mentioned in connection with six other criminal cases, of which one is the instance of the notorious Stephen Burroughs, of Pelham, who was convicted and sentenced at that term for passing counterfeit money. The copy is as follows :—

Priscilla Wharfield of Westfield, for adultery with a negro man, while her husband was in the army, to set one hour on the gallows with a rope about her neck, be severely whipped 20 stripes in the way from the gallows to the goal [jail], and forever after wear a capital A two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary colour to her cloaths sowed upon her outer garment on her back in open view, and pay costs.

It would be interesting to know how long after the Revolution this peculiar form of punishment was enforced by the courts, but probably not a great while after the instance here given. Presumably the culprit in this particular case was still young or in middle life, as her husband, at the time of her delinquency, was serving in the army as a soldier; and if the sentence was carried out, and she wore the letter “forever after,”—or during her lifetime,—she may have continued to bear the badge of disgrace even into the present century. Probably, however, soon after the Revolutionary period the punishment became rare and gradually faded out without exciting special comment.

The town of Westfield, which was the home of the unfortunate woman, is distant only a few miles from the borders of the State of Connecticut; and, if at any time after her sentence she had seen fit to leave the limits of this Commonwealth, she could easily have escaped the lifelong penalty of her crime. It is not at all improbable that finally she took up her abode elsewhere, beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and perhaps in this way disappeared the last trace of her punishment. The neighbors would have called it a case of good riddance, and would

hardly have taken steps to bring her back for the completion of her sentence, or have gone out of their way for that purpose in order to give the needed information to the officers, whose duty it was to look after such delinquents.

Dr. GREEN then read a letter he had received from Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., and said :—

Dr. Paige is now in the ninety-fifth year of his age, and as the oldest member in years, I think it would be very gratifying to his feelings if this Society should recognize in some way the receipt of this letter, and send to him their salutations.

Col. A. GEORGE BULLOCK then moved :—

That the Society acknowledge the receipt of the letter and extend their greetings to Dr. Paige, and that the Secretary be requested to transmit the same.

President SALISBURY then remarked,—

If that action by the Society, which only expresses the sentiments entertained one year ago when Dr. Paige himself was present at the semi-annual meeting, meets with approval, the Society will manifest it by rising.

It was a unanimous vote, and the Secretary was requested to transmit a notice of the vote and greeting to Dr. Paige.

An interesting paper was read by JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, the subject being “Notes on Early American Literature.”

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, in presenting a medal to the Society, said :—

I have the honor to present to the Society a cast of a medal, which seems to me of more value than the gentleman thought it who sent it to me. It is a medal representing The Last Supper, and Mr. William S. Appleton,

to whom I sent it, thought the date was 1545, but I do not know whether or not he is quite correct. It is a cast made by a dentist in Ash Grove in the southwest part of Missouri, of a silver medal found there more than a year ago. The date seems just to fit in with the date of the expedition when the Spaniards rode across from the Platte or Missouri River, when they did not see a human being in the three months of their coming and three months going. At the same time, Dr. Hale showed to the Society a photograph of the Ribero map, showing the first settlement on the coast of the United States north of what we now call Florida, being dated about the year 1529. Dr. Hale, although he could not present it to the Society at present, said he would see that it went to the Society before many years.

Mr. ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS read a paper on the "Legislation and Litigation connected with the Land Bank of 1740."

President SALISBURY called the attention of the Society to the drawings displayed upon the walls, saying:—

The colored drawings are of the original size, and represent the mural drawings or paintings that are found in a building on the top of a pyramid at Chichen-Itza, Yucatan. The group, of which this pyramid forms a part, is now in the possession of our associate, Edward H. Thompson, Esq., lately consul at Yucatan, who is in possession of a plantation six miles square, which contains within its borders the largest and most interesting collection of Maya Indian ruins that is known to the President of the Society. This plantation is in a dangerous locality, as it is exposed to Indian forays from the unsubdued Indians; but Mr. Thompson has taken up the cultivation of coffee, and of some other products which are profitable. These drawings are a gift to the Society.

The first drawings from the same building were procured at my instance some years ago. They were frescoes which I had seen upon the walls, and I desired they should be preserved upon paper. Mr. Thompson, on his late visit here, desired to add these to those which I already had,—or rather to present them to the Society. These drawings are suggestive of household operations, and are certainly of value, and are cumulative contributions to the explanation of Indian life of the past.

The last paper called to the attention of the Society was one by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Ph.D., of Good Hope, Illinois, which was prepared at the request of the President, the request being that Dr. Peet, the editor of the *American Antiquarian*, should prepare a paper upon the condition of archæological investigations in this country. Dr. Peet changed the title a little, and prepared a paper upon “The History of Archæological Explorations in the Mississippi Valley.” The paper was read by Mr. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

Mr. GREENE being asked what it was that he had in mind about the Indian character, history and destination, which prompted him to say that he did not want to see any Indian community, but that he wanted them all disintegrated, scattered and mixed up with ourselves, replied:—

I do not know that I can answer that question. I do not expect that we or our successors will ever see a civilized and prosperous Indian community, and therefore I think there should be no Indian communities. I do not think the Indian incapable of civilization, but I believe the existence of communities of people distinct in origin, language, color, or otherwise, from those about them is not good for the country or for the people of those distinct communities. Such communities of Indians could only be kept distinct and separate by influences, from within or without, which

would prevent the development of civilization, and seclude them from the common atmosphere of progress which we all breathe. This would be true, in a measure, of separate, isolated communities of Germans, Irishmen, or Frenchmen. If it is best for them and for us, and no one doubts it, that these immigrants should be absorbed into the common mass of our people, it is best for us and for the Indians too that they also should be absorbed, and cease to be a distinct people.

Speaking on the same subject, Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE of Milton, Mass., said :—

This is a subject upon which I have thought a good deal, but without saying much. I have attended the conferences at Lake Mohonk for several years. But as to the Indian question I have always been silent. There are two views about the American Indian. One is that of the Western member of Congress, that “the best Indian is a dead Indian.” The other view is that of Bishop Whipple, whom I always listen to with greatest interest, as he presents the high character which the Indian shows, and pictures the wrongs which he suffers. I once brought on myself a storm of criticism because I suggested that we ought to see or hear more about the productive and industrial habits of the Indian and a little less about his progress in arithmetic, writing, *etc.*; but in later years his friends have taken up that subject more.

Mr. Greene indicates what appears to be the underlying view of his paper,—that an Indian community cannot be developed by itself, that as such it cannot reach civilization. Now if that be so it is different from any other community that we know of,—at any rate in the history of Europe.

We spend a very large amount upon Indian tribes; we spend, I suppose, as much on an Indian child as is spent on the average young man going through college. And with

what results? I have heard accounts given, for instance, of those who have been educated at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; that they sometimes go back to the Indian country, and lie on the ground sighing for the good old times at Carlisle. I said to myself "In history has there ever been that sort of thing going on?" Our British ancestors were barbarous. The civilized portion of the globe did not undertake to transport them to Italy and France in order to civilize them. They sent to them missionaries, and they did not feel that the British could not be civilized at home. What is there peculiar and exceptional about the American Indian? That is what I wanted to get hold of by my question. What is there in his character, in his history, in his probable destiny, that distinguishes him from other populations that have covered the globe? Was this people sent by Providence to be a temporary occupant of an uninhabited country, and then be judged incapable of civilization? There is an Indian in Canada who went to Oxford, England, and completed his education there, showing a capacity that any white man might have. Who could be a more royal character than Tecumseh? And yet after all, what about the race as a whole? It is not what single persons may do; it is what the race may do.

I have heard most depressing accounts given of the Indians in New York. There is an Indian tribe near Syracuse. There they are within a few miles of one of the most educated and polished communities in this country, and yet they are degraded to the last extent. If they know the English language they will not speak it, and they answer to one speaking our language "Me don't know English." What is the trouble about all this? My idea is that we ought to do our very best by all races, no matter whether they are qualified for anything high or not. How different the Indian from the negro! I had the earliest connection with freedmen in our war, having about ten thousand of them under my charge. After I

made my first exploration I met the Massachusetts delegation at Washington. I remember the most antislavery member said to me, "Do you think we can do anything with these people?" But it is seen today, that while the negro may not be able to reach the heights that the Caucasian and Anglo-Saxon can reach, still he is wonderfully adapted to the civilized state. He works well with white men, and flourishes well with them, and even builds communities of his own.

My brother was the other day on his steam yacht down at San Domingo, and invited the President of the Republic to dine with him on his yacht; he said he was an accomplished gentleman; he knew the difference between what was possible there and what was possible with us. But while I say these people may not reach these heights, still they are capable of the civilized state, and are doing a thousand times better than the most hopeful philanthropist thought they would. What is the trouble with the American Indian? Some one said the only way to manage them is to disintegrate them and send them apart, — you taking half a dozen in Worcester and we taking one in Milton and so on. I sometimes think that philanthropists are not quite frank in facing the Indian problem; and I rise to raise a question, which it is much easier to do than to answer it.

Senator HOAR called the attention of the Society to a facsimile he had received from Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the first of the great documents which were signed by all the representatives of the colonies. The document contains the signatures of all the members of that Congress, excepting a few whose absence is accounted for, including General Washington, John and Samuel Adams. After an explanation of the document, Senator HOAR referred it to the Committee of Publication to have printed.

Senator HOAR also introduced a letter from Rufus

Putnam, written at Rutland, Mass., dated 1790, which he also referred to the Committee of Publication.

DR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE informed the members that the citizens of Cleveland are interested in the Centennial of their city, and propose to celebrate it this summer.

MR. HENRY W. HAYNES inquired of Mr. Pierce :—

Whether that degraded settlement that Bishop Huntington speaks of, is a very mixed settlement or whether there is much pure blood,—Indian blood,—in it; whether those New York Indians are in any way like the ones at Old Town, or whether there is very little pure blood.

MR. PIERCE replied :—

My impression is that it is pretty impure; that they are unlike. We think that is a pretty solid Indian community. One reason for saying that, is that they keep up the Indian language; they do not use our language and do not want to use it although they know it.

Speaking of the Indians, President G. STANLEY HALL said :—

I have never attended the Mohonk conferences, and know very little about the present status of the Indian. It is a well established law in biology that where you do mix bloods that are too diverse, you get reversions. That has been established by experiments with animals. If the relationship is too remote, there is degeneration and a tendency to revert to primitive conditions. It seems to me that all those who have dealt with the Indians do not understand what an exceedingly complicated system they have. In many respects, their customs are admirably adapted to a low stage of civilization. I have heard Mr. Cushing give an opinion to this effect,—that it would be entirely possible, if people were to live with the Indians

in a sympathetic way, knowing their customs and traditions, that it would develop them very much on their own lines. Our tendency has been to reconstruct their ideas and customs and civilization, and that is always a dangerous thing, and is done with great loss. I remember asking a missionary whether his policy was to make clear ground and build up *de novo*, and he said most emphatically, that it was. That is very bad pedagogy, and our missionary system as well as our civilization has suffered, I think, in that respect. I wish we could have somewhere an Indian community kept together in the right way. I remember seeing an interesting account of how some people who wanted to raise frogs for the market, undertook to cut off the tails of the tadpoles in order that the hind legs should grow faster. Of course, everyone knows there could not have been a greater mistake; and that I think is a parable or fable that has a very broad significance in transplanting culture, whether political, social, educational or religious,—in transplanting the *ethos* that is the root of all successful civilization from one ethnic stock to another.

Being asked whether he would approve of bringing a number of Indians here and educating them, President HALL replied that he certainly should approve of it if they were capable of it.

President SALISBURY resumed:—

I should like to add to what I said in regard to these colored drawings, that when I saw the mural paintings that were previously copied and sent here,—those that are at present here had not seen the light for many decades, because they were covered up, and were below the base line of the room where they existed, and were afterwards uncovered by excavations. The copy is very like and of the same size.

It was voted that the various papers presented be referred to the Committee of Publication. Dr. GREEN, at the request of members of the Society resident in Boston and neighborhood, and in their name, invited the members of the Society to a collation at the Parker House at half-past two o'clock.

In behalf of the Society, President SALISBURY accepted the invitation.

The meeting was then dissolved.

NATHANIEL PAINE,

Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council has nothing of special interest to note in the history of the Society for the past half-year, and has no suggestions to offer, other than such as may be found in the report of our diligent librarian. But we can congratulate the Society on the progressive excellent condition of the library and on its general prosperity. Since our last meeting, the Society has lost two valued members, of whom memorial notices have been prepared by our associate, Mr. Charles A. Chase.

Joseph Jones, M.D., elected a member of this Society on October 22, 1877, died at his home in New Orleans, on February 17, 1896. He was born in Liberty County, Ga., September 6, 1833, son of Rev. Charles Colcock Jones and Mary Jones. His mother's father, Capt. Joseph Jones, commanded the "Liberty Independent Troop" in the war of 1812, and his father's grandfather, Major John Jones, was *aide-de-camp* to Brig.-Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, who fell before the British lines around Savannah in October, 1779. His father was a Presbyterian divine of much learning, author of the "History of the Church of God," and of a catechism for the instruction of the Negroes of the United States. The son was graduated from Princeton College in 1853 with the degree of A.M., and from the University of Pennsylvania, with the degree of M.D., in 1855, and was made LL.D. by the University of Georgia in 1892. He began the practice of medicine at Savannah in 1855, and was Professor of Chemistry in the Savannah Medical Col-

lege for the three years ensuing. He was Professor of Natural Theology and Natural Philosophy in the University of Georgia, at Athens, Ga., for one year (1858-9), and Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Georgia, at Augusta, from 1859 until the war of the Rebellion, when he entered the Southern cavalry service in which he served for six months, after which he served as full surgeon, with the rank of major, until the close of the war.

A sketch of the life of Dr. Jones, published before his death,¹ shows that his services were of the highest value, not only for the welfare of the army, but also from the contributions which his experience enabled him to make to medical knowledge and science. He prepared elaborate treatises upon the causes of tetanus and typhoid fever, and received the thanks of the Surgeon-General for "the zeal, untiring energy, and patient and laborious industry therein displayed." He also investigated the nature of the diseases which proved so fatal to the Northern soldiers held as prisoners, suggesting measures for their relief. His investigations at Andersonville were published by the United States Government and the United States Sanitary Commission.

In 1868, Dr. Jones was elected Professor of Chemistry and Clinic Medicine in the University of Louisiana. He served from April, 1880, to April, 1884, as President of the Louisiana State Board of Health. His labors during this period were specially directed to matters of quarantine, and he established the fact that yellow fever is not indigenous to the Mississippi Valley, and that it could be excluded therefrom by the proper precautions. The rules adopted by the State Board of Health to secure such exclusion were resisted by railroad and steamship authorities, but were finally sustained by the Supreme Court of the State in 1884, and two years later by the Supreme Court of the

¹ In "Physicians and Surgeons of America, edited by Irving A. Watson, M.D.," royal octavo, Concord, N. H., 1896.

United States, to which tribunal an appeal had been made by the opponents of the Board.

Dr. Jones gave to the world the results of his thought and observations, in a large number of papers, contributed to various literary and medical societies and publications. His great work was his "Medical and Surgical Memoirs," containing investigations on the geographical distribution, causes, nature, relations and treatment of various diseases, 1855-93. He was an ardent student of American Archaeology, possessing a valuable cabinet; and among his writings is a work on "Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains in Tennessee." He also possessed a rich collection of fire-arms of all kinds and ages. He was the first secretary and treasurer of the Southern Historical Society, and was a member of several learned and medical societies, and had been Surgeon-General of the United Confederate Veterans since 1889.

Dr. Jones married, first, October 26, 1858, Miss Caroline S. Davis of Augusta, Ga., who died in 1868; second, Miss Susan Rayner, daughter of Rev. Leonidas Polk, bishop of Louisiana and lieutenant-general in the confederate army. His widow survives him, with six children, his eldest son having died in 1894.

The students of the Medical College at New Orleans, in paying tribute to Prof. Jones, said that "he sailed the trackless sea of medical science with reason for his compass and thought for his pilot," and that "the medical profession has lost a member who reached the height of its dignity and learning, and who has done much to lift the curtain of doubt from many of its unsolved problems."

William Whitney Rice. The death of Mr. Rice, which occurred in Worcester, on March 1, 1896, took away one who had been prominent in that community for nearly fifty years, and whose services for ten years in the nation's

councils had given him a widespread reputation. He was born in Deerfield, Mass., an historic town, on March 7, 1826, so that he had nearly completed his seventieth year. He was the son of Rev. Benjamin Rice, a Congregational clergyman, and Lucy Whitney Rice, a native of Winchendon, Mass. From Bowdoin College, where he was graduated at the age of twenty, he received the degree of LL.D. in 1886; he ever maintained a love for his alma mater, and found the greatest pleasure in attending the gatherings of its alumni, by whom he was held in high esteem. Immediately upon graduating he became a teacher at Leicester Academy, Mass., an institution which has well educated many able men and women. His address at the centennial anniversary of the Academy, in 1884, was an interesting and scholarly piece of work. After five years at Leicester, he began the study of law at Worcester with Hon. Emory Washburn, our former associate, who was afterwards Governor and during the last years of his life Professor of Law at Harvard University and author of valuable textbooks upon law matters, especially those relating to real estate. Our Vice-President, Senator Hoar, though some six months younger than Mr. Rice, had earlier assumed the practice of law, and was a partner of Judge Washburn while the former was a student in the office.

Mr. Rice's ability secured for him, at the start, a prominent position as a lawyer, and in due time he ranked among the leaders of the bar in Worcester County,—a proud position, for it is a bar which has always been famous for the exceptional ability and learning of its foremost members. Mr. Hoar has said of him that "he was always courteous to his antagonists, faithful to his clients and respectful to the court. He was a sound lawyer and a skilled manager of cases before juries Any client was safe in his hands, no matter who might be retained on the other side. There was no danger that he would lose any case that he ought to win, either before the jury or the

full bench He was the most sagacious adviser I have ever known, of business men who were in difficulties, or who had important controversies which required the advice of a counsellor who knew what was best to be done in the conduct of business and at the same time competent to be trusted as adviser as to their legal rights."

Mr. Rice's interests went outside of his chosen profession, and included the affairs of state and of his fellow-men. The Free Soil party was formed about the time of his coming of age, and the principles of that party and of its successor, the Republican party, had his full sympathy, and found in him a zealous and untiring champion. He served as Mayor of Worcester in 1860, and was the youngest person ever chosen for that office, being at the time of his election in his thirty-third year. He was Judge of Insolvency for a few months in 1858, prior to the union of the courts of probate and insolvency. He was District Attorney for five years from 1868, was Representative to the General Court in 1875, and in 1876 was elected Representative to Congress, taking the seat from which Mr. Hoar was promoted to be Senator. He continued in Congress for ten years, speaking but seldom, but proving a valuable working member, faithful to all the business interests of his State.

He was trustee of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and of Clark University at Worcester, and for many years a director in the City National Bank, to all of which he rendered valuable service.

Mr. Rice was elected a member of this Society April 29, 1885. He was twice married: first, in 1855, to Miss Cornelia A. Moen of Stamford, Conn. The second son of this union, Charles Moen Rice [H. U. 1882,] survives. Mr. Rice married again, in 1875, Miss Alice M. Miller of Worcester, a sister of Mrs. George F. Hoar. Mr. Hoar, in his tribute, to which former reference has been made, says "He was as absolutely perfect as any man I ever knew

in the domestic relations, as a son, a father, a brother and a husband. He loved his parents, his brothers and his sisters, his wife and his children with an absolute, considerate, self-sacrificing affection, which I think left them nothing to desire, and which, I think, in the lot of humanity could not be surpassed."

For the Council,

J. EVARTS GREENE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

OUR DEALINGS WITH THE INDIANS.

BY J. EVARTS GREENE.

FROM the earliest occupation of North America by Europeans a distinction may be traced between the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants by the Spanish and French on the one hand, and the English on the other. The former, while recognizing in some measure the Indians' right of occupancy in their lands, yet generally, if not uniformly, took possession on their arrival, of such lands as they chose, without the formality of purchase, or of consent gained from the Indians. They asserted the sovereignty of their monarchs, the kings of Spain and France, respectively. They declared the Indians subjects of the foreign king, and though they were compelled sometimes in emergencies to treat with the hostile or threatening savages, it was as a king may treat with his rebels, without definitively abating any of his pretensions or conceding any of their claims to independence.

In later times, when the supremacy of the Europeans was established, and the mutual relations of the two races had become somewhat settled, the native right of occupancy was doubtless distinctly recognized as a species of tribal property, whose nature and limits were more or less clearly defined by law. The tribes, therefore, so far as they were the possessors of this common property, were regarded as somewhat in the nature of corporations with which bargains might be and were made from time to time by the crown, which reserved to itself the right to deal with them in that capacity. But they were not regarded

as in any sense independent, and the individual Indians were considered subjects of his majesty, the king of Spain or France, as the case might be, and amenable to his laws, so far as his power extended, and their condition for the time permitted.

The English colonists, on the other hand, adopted a different theory and policy. The land indeed was held to be the king's, and he granted it to favored persons or corporations at his pleasure, without regard to the rights or wishes of the Indians. But everywhere, from Massachusetts to Georgia, the actual occupation of the land was preceded by obtaining the real or apparent consent of the Indians through purchase or otherwise. The Indian right of occupancy was distinctly and practically recognized from the beginning, as a species of property which must be acquired before the absolute title to the land was complete in the white settler. The native tribes also, instead of being treated as the subjects of a foreign king, were regarded as having a political, independent existence. They sent and received envoys; they were parties to negotiations and treaties. They were commonly styled "Indian nations," and were dealt with as if that designation were truly descriptive.

Which of these theories and policies was the more just and humane in its nature and purpose cannot be doubted; which was in the long run the wiser is not perhaps so clear. The former had at least the advantage of clearness and consistency. It was capable of application throughout, without material changes, while the latter became irreconcilable with the facts as time went on, and led to confusion and various mischiefs, as we shall see.

The conditions in Spanish America were so different from those which confronted the French and English colonists, that attempts to compare results throw little light upon the comparative merits of theories and policies.

In the West Indian islands, the Spaniards found for

the most part simple and unwarlike peoples of not much toughness of physical or moral fibre, who succumbed readily to slavery, and, having no heart to resist or strength to endure its cruel severities, perished quickly and miserably.

On the continent, especially in Mexico and Peru, the Spaniards found large native populations, not hunters or nomadic herdsmen, but sedentary, possessing many of the domestic arts and settled social and political institutions. To exterminate them, to drive them out, to allow them to remain independent or semi-independent, retaining their own political institutions—any one of these courses was to the Spaniards impossible. The natives were subjugated, as the Romans subjugated the Gauls and Britons. They were made subjects of the Spanish monarchy. Social distinctions, of course, were persistent; the Spaniard or the creole of pure blood looked down with haughty contempt upon the Indian and the mongrel; but the people of the native stock accepted the institutions of their conquerors, and Mexico and Peru, a generation or two after the conquest, were as thoroughly Hispanized as Gaul in the early centuries of our era was Romanized.

The conditions confronting the French in Canada were more like those with which our forefathers had to deal in New England, yet they differed in some important respects.

The Indians whom the Frenchmen found on the banks of the St. Lawrence were not native there. They were fugitives from the ferocious and conquering Iroquois. They welcomed the French as allies and protectors from their enemies, and their relations with the new comers were formed and controlled by this condition of mutual helpfulness against the common foe.

I think the comparative freedom of Canada in later years from Indian wars and troubles may be due in part to this friendly relation with the Algonquin and allied tribes from the beginning, and also to the fact that the English, succeeding the French in this protective relation, had also a

friendship of long standing with the Iroquois, formed when the latter were the active and implacable foes of the French and Canadian Indians.

But, aside from this, the French, though less successful as colonists, and partly because they were less successful, got on better with the Indians. Their settlements were like a slender stream, spreading here and there into little pools, but affecting scarcely at all the general forest conditions of the country, and having little of menace in its aspect, while the English were like a rising tide, covering the land as it advanced, and plainly threatening to sweep away all that the Indian loved and prized, and to make the land uninhabitable for him.

Moreover, the Frenchmen, as individuals, got on better with the Indians than the Englishmen. The former understood them better and had more sympathy with their tastes and pursuits. The young Frenchmen took to the woods, and not all the orders of their despotic king and the efforts of their governors could restrain their enthusiasm for the more than half-savage life of the *coureur de bois*. They readily formed temporary or permanent connections with Indian women, and the wilderness was filled with half-breeds. Count Frontenac, the most capable and brilliant of the French governors of Canada, who was not unfamiliar with the splendid court life of France, with its rigid conventionalities, on at least one occasion joined the Indians in their war-dance, not wholly from policy or affectation, but because he found in the fierce excitement of the savage ceremony something congenial to his temper. Even Mad Anthony Wayne was not mad enough for that, nor could any Englishman or American of English stock in a position of command or authority have ventured or wished to take his part in such a function.

The English colonists bought their lands of the Indians, and I believe their descendants have generally been proud of this proof of their superiority in justice to the colonists

of other nations, as perhaps they ought to be. Those earliest bargains were probably as fair as any that have been made since between the white man and the red. The consideration given by the former was usually trifling, but so, as the Indians understood it, was the thing granted. With the continent behind them it meant little to them that the new comers should be allowed to occupy a few square miles of land. They did not appreciate the aggressive force of civilization, nor indeed did the colonists themselves, as appears from the declaration, made some years after the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, that in laying out a road to Concord they were going as far in that direction as ever would be necessary. The destiny of the white race in North America was not then a manifest destiny to either of the parties to these bargains.

But buying lands and treaty making went on through the colonial period of our history. While it seems probable that the negotiations on both sides were actuated by as much of good faith as usually goes to the making of treaties between civilized nations, all of these and even those of much later times had these two features in common: The white men showed amazing shortsightedness, or so it seems to us now, and equally amazing ignorance of or indifference to the fact that the other party was irresponsible, unauthorized, or even imaginary. They were shortsighted as appears from their successive agreements, warranted, as it seems, by their sincere belief at the time, that the advance of white settlement should not transgress certain fixed and not remote limits, but that beyond these the Indians should be forever undisturbed.

Each of these agreements in its turn it became impossible to observe. The swelling tide of white settlement touched those treaty barriers and they crumbled away. Colonial or federal authority was as helpless in the face of this invasion as Mrs. Partington with her mop before a spring tide. Hence in part the "Century of Dishonor," of

which the late Mrs. Jackson wrote so eloquently and bitterly, repeating the confession of our national disgrace, to which there have been so many other witnesses. But, after all, the dishonor lies not so much in the fact that the treaties were not kept inviolate; for that,—human nature and the tendency of events beyond the control of statesmen and rulers being what they are,—was impossible, but that they were ever made. The men who conducted these negotiations with the Indians ought to have been wise enough to know that the treaties must soon be obsolete and their observance impossible, and, knowing this, they ought to have found some other way out of the immediate difficulty than a treaty made to be broken. It seems almost incredible that the men who made the Indian treaties in the last decade of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the present century could have believed that the Indians could remain in undisturbed possession of half the state of Ohio, or a great part of Illinois, or that the whites would long be content with the Mississippi river as the western boundary of civilization, yet each of these successive solutions of the Indian problem of the moment was solemnly declared a finality within the time mentioned, and others equally futile were accepted with the same solemnity much later, when the experience of repeated failures ought, if anything could, to have taught men better. But it has been the practice of diplomatists in all ages and countries to pay for present advantage by drafts on posterity which they have no right to expect will be honored when due.

The wisest of the Indians saw clearly enough that these agreements gave no security for their future. Pontiac and Tecumseh knew that the conflict between the white and the red man was irrepressible, that the continent must belong to one or the other, and could not be shared between them.

It is strange to find a recent writer, who in general deals with his subject so ably and so fairly as Mr. Roosevelt, in

his valuable book, "The Winning of the West," ignore this view of the subject as giving a cause to the remoter tribes of Indians for joining in the resistance to the settlement of the Ohio valley.

Speaking of the attack upon the Kentucky settlers in 1777, he says: "Not only did the Shawnees, Wyandots, Mingoes and Iroquois act thus, but they were joined by bands of Ottawas, Pottawatomies and Chippeways from the lakes, who thus attacked the white settlers long ere the latter had either the will or the chance to hurt them."¹ And elsewhere he says of these attacks that they were totally unprovoked because made "on land where they did not themselves dwell."² And again of the Kentucky settlers: "They ousted no Indians from the lands they took. In their eyes the attack on the part of the Indians was as wanton as it was cruel, and in all probability this view was correct."³

These remoter tribes, who, Mr. Roosevelt thinks, should have been uninterested spectators of the conflict for the Ohio valley, might well, on principles pretty generally approved by our countrymen for more than seventy years, oppose by force, if necessary, the further extension of a European system on this continent. And so zealous an advocate of the extremest application of the Monroe doctrine as Mr. Roosevelt, might be expected to comprehend that the occupation of Kentucky by white men was a more formidable menace to the Pottawatomies of the lakes, or even the Dakotas of the upper Missouri, than the adjustment of the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana can be to the United States.

The other peculiar feature of these treaties was that, while the white negotiators represented an organized and responsible government, a properly qualified and accredited party of the other part was wanting.

¹ Roosevelt. "Winning of the West," I., p. 325.

² *Ibid.*, I., p. 256 note. ³ *Ibid.*, I., pp. 357, 358.

The Indian tribes or bands were styled "nations," but they had no valid claim to that title. Even the Iroquois, the most politically inclined of any of the native inhabitants of the northern and eastern parts, at least, of North America, had no ruler, no acknowledged authority, no representative system, no real political entity. They had leaders, of course, who advised and persuaded if they could, but no man felt obliged to do or refrain from doing anything because the leaders had promised for him. The chief might feel bound by his word, but the warriors, for whose conduct he had pledged himself, did not think themselves bound. They might be persuaded to keep the chief's treaty, but if so they yielded to his influence, or were controlled by the same motives which induced him to make it, not by the conviction that it was their duty, and that their own good faith was involved in keeping it.

The Indian nation, nominally a party to the treaty, was in fact non-existent or imaginary. Moreover, most of these treaties were made by negotiators on each side ignorant of the others' language, and on one side, though naturally shrewd and with native talent for diplomacy, unskilled in forms and phrases, and both parties dependent upon interpreters perhaps incapable, sometimes dishonest, and having strong motives to deceive one or both of the contracting parties.

These latter facts are not suggested as excuses for the breach of any treaty. If the government, royal, colonial or federal, chose to treat under these conditions, well known, as they must have been, honesty and honor required it to keep its promises in spirit and substance at least, if not in the letter, so long as their observance was possible.

The British crown claimed by right of discovery not only the sovereignty of the country, which afterwards became the territory of the United States, but also the absolute

title to the land, subject only to the Indians' right of occupancy, which latter right, it was held, could only be alienated to the crown or with its consent. To these rights the United States succeeded. But the United States has recognized only tribal possession or occupancy, and this conforms to the Indian notions of right in land, notions quite in accord with the latest theories of land reformers among our own people. The individual Indian had no rights and no means of enforcing them if he had them. He was not a citizen and could not become one under our naturalization laws. He could have no standing in the courts, as plaintiff or defendant. He was sometimes styled "a ward of the nation," but there was no tribunal by which his rights as such could be defined and maintained. He was subject to constraint and coercion by the Secretary of the Interior and his subordinates.

The tribes could make treaties, or have treaties made for them. These were negotiated by the President and approved by the Senate, with the same forms and effect as treaties with Great Britain or France. They were therefore, for that purpose, at least, recognized as independent nations. Treaty-making under that name, however, was abandoned in 1871, and since that time negotiations with the Indians have resulted in "conventions" or "agreements," legally so styled, though differing from treaties only in the forms of conclusion and ratification.

But this independent nationality, so fully conceded in some of the early treaties after our revolution that intruders on Indian lands were declared to be beyond the protection of the United States, and liable to be dealt with as the Indians might please, was found by the United States unsatisfactory in some respects, as having inconvenient consequences if followed to its logical results, and we find the courts denying to the Indian tribes the status of foreign nations, and defining them as "dependent domestic na-

tions,"¹ or, from another point of view, and for another purpose, as "national wards."

The purport of these treaties was usually the cession of land and the promise to live peaceably within their new boundaries, on the part of the Indians, and on the other part gifts of goods and sometimes of money, in compensation for the land in the earlier treaties, or in those made later by the United States, besides present gifts, promises of money, annuities, rations, farming stock and implements, schools, and instruction in farming and other arts, with protection against citizens of the United States and enemies of either party.

The United States, as the stronger party, of course took care to hold all that was given by the Indians, but disputes concerning boundaries and conditions have been frequent, and complaints of unprovoked attacks upon peaceful settlers on the ceded lands were not uncommon. From what has before been said of the want of a responsible party on the Indian side of the agreement, it is clear such results could scarcely be avoided. The chiefs could plead in excuse that they could not control their young men, and the aggressive band could say that they had not signed away their land or authorized anybody to sign for them. Such disputes and the unwarranted intrusion of lawless white men cause war on the border, and prepare the way for new treaties and new cessions of territory.

Though a few of the chiefs have always been wise enough to see that money payments were injurious rather than beneficial to the Indians, the mass of the tribes were eager for such payments. But one tribe at least, it seems, a hundred years ago was not. When in 1793, a council was held with the Delawares for the purpose of settling the eastern boundary of the land conceded to them, they insisted upon the Ohio river as their boundary, claiming that the land west of it was theirs by former treaties. A considera-

¹ United States v. Ragsdale, 5 Peters, 1.

ble sum of money and annuities for fifty years were offered for their consent to fix the boundary further westward, and to this proposition they are said to have made the following answer : —

Money is to us of no value, and to most of us unknown ; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed and peace thereby obtained. We know that the settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money which you have offered us among these people. Give to each also a portion of what you say you would give to us annually, over and above the very large sum of money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add also the great sum you must expend in raising and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and improvements.

To whom should be given the credit for the language in which this proposition is expressed I do not know. To the Indians the terms might seem reasonable, but to any white man the futility of buying lands without getting them, of practically hiring men to trespass upon Indian lands and foment troubles with the Indians, especially when no increase of territory or other national advantage could be gained by it, is apparent.

Money payments to Indians have always, I suppose, done much more harm than good. Captain Pratt, principal of the Carlisle Indian School, described at the Mohonk Conference last October, the distribution of fifty thousand dollars to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in the Indian Territory in the autumn of 1894. He said : “Gamblers and the vilest men to be found in that vile region were

there in multitudes. . . . The Indians were brought together from one hundred miles away, and were kept there a week. They abandoned their farms and brought their ponies, dogs and tepees, received and squandered their money, and got nothing but harm from it. It is so always. Giving them money in this way enriches the neighboring white man and destroys the Indian."

Other forms of payment, annuities, rations, clothing and so forth, are more permanently, if less rapidly, demoralizing. Education, in the form of schooling or instruction in agriculture or the mechanic arts, is of course beneficial, and so, no doubt, is the supply in reasonable quantity of stock and implements, if precaution is taken that these are properly used. But of these good things the Indians have, until quite recent years, received but little from the government. Appropriations have doubtless been made by Congress substantially in compliance with the stipulations of treaties; stock and implements have been purchased, and teachers, farmers, carpenters and blacksmiths employed. The legislation was good in the main, but the administration until lately was as bad as it could well be.

An Indian agent, with a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, could retire at the end of four years with a fortune of fifty or a hundred thousand dollars. The teachers, farmers, carpenters, were selected by politicians without conscience from among their needy followers, without knowledge of the arts they were expected to teach and to practise, and with no sense of duty to the government which employed them or to the Indians for whose benefit and from whose money they were paid. They were teachers in a sense, for they taught by example the vices of civilization. One of them, after cynically confessing that, if he wished, he could be of no use in the capacity in which he was nominally employed, was asked what were his qualifications for appointment. "Well," he said, "I suppose I was a statesman out of a job."

This was the situation in general twenty-five years ago or more. It has improved very much since, especially within the last ten years. President Grant's plan of requesting the great religious bodies of the country to select Indian agents provided better security than before for suitable appointments to these important offices. The establishment of the board of Indian commissioners gave useful supervision of the purchase and distribution of Indian supplies, and the growth of Indian Rights Associations, with their vigilant agents penetrating everywhere, scrutinizing the Indian administration and exposing its shortcomings fearlessly, and the comparative accessibility of the Indian reservations in these times, are all wholesome influences, tending to the correction of abuses and the encouragement of honest and intelligent work. The recent extension of the civil service rules to the Indian service has, of course, been most helpful, so that, I suppose, this service is now fairly honest and efficient. On the whole, however, the government, so far as it has kept faith with the Indians by doing what it has promised in its treaties and agreements, has not done much to elevate, but much to degrade them. If less ferocious, because their opportunities for ferocity are restricted, they are certainly less energetic. They have less individual independence and apparently less capacity or wish for it. They have acquired vices and diseases which in their aboriginal condition were unknown to them, and they do not seem to have gained new virtues or sounder sanitary conditions.

The greatest obstacle to their advancement has been, in my opinion, the policy of the government, according, doubtless, with their own inclination, to keep them together, to maintain their tribal relations, to herd them on reservations, to merge the personal and property rights of the individual in those of his tribe. Thus the tribal Indian has no personal status before the law. The tribe is something,

though it has not always been easy to say what; the Indian is nothing.

Treaties were made with the tribes, as we have seen, with the same formalities and to the same legal effect as with a European power. It seems a logical inference that the tribes were independent foreign nations. But the Supreme Court says: "No"; they are not independent or foreign. They may be defined, says the court, as "dependent domestic nations," and "in a state of pupillage."¹ Another court of high authority says an Indian tribe is "neither a state nor a nation."²

The individual tribal Indian is nobody, so far as the courts can tell. He is not a citizen. The fourteenth amendment declares that "all person born or naturalized within the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the several States." But it is held that this definition does not include Indians, because they are not, within the meaning of the amendment, "subject to the jurisdiction thereof." They are not foreign citizens or subjects, as the same court decides. Being, therefore, neither citizens nor aliens, they are nobody and cannot sue or be sued.³

So rigidly is this disability maintained that when, about twenty years ago, a number of Indians, for no crime, but simply for refusing to leave their homes at the arbitrary command of the Secretary of the Interior, were confined for days without food or fire in the severest winter weather, and were at length fired upon, some of them killed and others wounded, they could obtain no relief nor even have their case inquired into under the writ of *habeas corpus*, because, as tribal Indians, they had no rights in the courts.

Another illustration, quite as striking, is given by the case of the Apache scouts who served under General Crook

¹ United States *v.* Ragsdale, 5 Peters, 1.

² Bashe *v.* Washington, 19 Indiana, 53.

³ Karrahoo *v.* Adams, 1 Dillon, 344.

in the campaign against Geronimo as regularly enlisted men, were honorably discharged, and visited Washington, invited by the Secretary of the Interior. There, because they wished to return to their home in Arizona, though the Secretary and the General commanding the army had other plans for them, they were put into the charge of a military officer as prisoners of war. The writ of *habeas corpus* was invoked in vain, and I believe they are still held as prisoners together with the hostile Indians whom they helped to capture.

The lands-in-severalty act, so far as it has been carried into effect, has improved the status of the Indian. It has put an end to the tribal community, giving to each individual his own lands and making him a citizen of the United States and of the State in which he lives. The lands not allotted are sold, and so the Indians are no longer isolated in place or in their political relations, but are scattered more or less among their white neighbors, having equal citizenship with them. This is a step and a long step, some think it too long for a single stride, in the right direction. It brings those who take it, within the protection of the law, gives them the right of suffrage, the right of free education in the common schools, and all those advantages which States and communities provide for their people.

For his own protection against improvidence and fraud, the Indian is made incapable for twenty-five years, of alienating his land or of leasing it, except by permission of the Secretary of the Interior under certain conditions, and his land is not taxable. This last restriction, meant for the Indian's protection, operates to his injury, for it makes him an object of jealousy and dislike as a privileged person, and tends to prevent the supply of local needs, such as schools and roads, in districts where there are many Indians, so fully as in others where all the property can be taxed to pay for them.

This land-in-severalty policy is not new. It was tried

forty years ago with the Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandots of Kansas. Its results then and there were unsatisfactory. It promises to succeed better now under more favorable conditions.

The condition of the Indians in this country is not what it ought to be after they have been in contact for two or three centuries with a civilized and Christian people. Our failure in dealing with them is due not so much to intentional oppression or wrong, or to indifference to their welfare, as to our shortsightedness and the conflicting theories early adopted regarding their status and their relation to the white people, which make our policy concerning them and our actual dealing with them inconsistent, confused and unstable. While they were regarded at one time and for one purpose as independent foreign nations, at another as dependent domestic nations, at another as wards or pupils, no rational policy or treatment could be adopted and steadily pursued.

Thus, disregarding the theory of pupilage, we have many times done with them what they wished, though we knew it would be injurious, rather than what we believed would be for their permanent advantage. At other times, ignoring our theory of their independence, we have compelled them by threats or induced them by deceit to consent to terms which they would never knowingly and without coercion have accepted. And now we hold ourselves obliged by treaties to keep many tribes in a condition of pauperism and consequent vice, from which they have neither the power nor the wish to emerge while we keep our promises to them.

For the Indian race, "the Indian" in the abstract, I see no hope. I can find no reason to believe that we or our posterity will ever see a thoroughly civilized, happy and prosperous Indian community. I do not know that we should wish to see such a community, and therefore we need not mourn that, as I believe, it is impossible. I have

no sympathy with the eloquent sentimentality of Charles Sprague's oration, with which many of us were doubtless familiar in our youth, beginning: "Not many generations ago where you now sit, surrounded by all that delights and embellishes civilized life, the rank thistle nodded in the wind and the wild fox dug his hole unscared." The late Senator Conkling is said to have declared this oration the most eloquent in the English language. I willingly concede it a high, though not the highest, place as a specimen of eloquence, but to my mind, the eloquence is wasted and the sentiment misdirected. "The Indian," as a race, a nation, a tribe, a distinct element among our people, may disappear without leaving cause for regret. The two hundred and seventy-five thousand, more or less, individual Indians are proper subjects for philanthropic interest, and there is hope that they, if wisely guided, may become self-respecting and self-helping men and women.

I have no doubt that this result might be attained within the space of one generation. The many examples of white children captured by Indians, who were at maturity as savage, fierce and cruel as the Indians themselves,¹ and of Indian children reared in civilization who became respectable persons, contented, prosperous and useful members of civilized communities, prove that in those parts of character and conduct in which white men differ from Indians environment is a more powerful influence than heredity. Dr. Eastman, a Sioux of pure blood, educated in New England, looks what he is, an accomplished gentleman, whose personal character and professional attainments have won the respect of all who know him. Other instances in abundance prove that nothing in his case was exceptional except the opportunity. Any Indian child, allowing, of course, for natural differences of capacity and disposition, would show a like result under like conditions.

It is not an undertaking so great as to strain the

¹ Roosevelt. "Winning of the West," II., p. 8.

resources of our government to take the thirty thousand or thereabout Indian children of school age and scatter them among the schools of the United States, thus freeing them from the tribal relations and influences, and, having provided for their education, let them shift for themselves as laborers, craftsmen or in other walks of life according to their tastes and opportunities. The experiment of the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the charge of Captain Pratt, whose humanity and sense of justice and honor are unquestionable, but not more so than his practical wisdom and the success which has rewarded his efforts within the scope of his authority and opportunity,—is conclusive evidence that this policy is practicable. Any one who has seen a group of Apache children as they arrived at Carlisle, with all the characteristics of the savage, not only in their dress and manner, but visibly stamped upon their features in hard lines of craft, ferocity, suspicion and sullen obduracy, and has also seen a year later the same children neatly dressed, with their frank intelligent faces, not noticeably unlike in expression those of wholesome and happy boys and girls of our own race, must be convinced that education under suitable conditions is the true solution of the Indian problem, and that if all the Indian children could be placed under the same influences as the few hundreds at Carlisle, that problem would disappear within ten years.

At present it is a serious and difficult problem. I do not say that we are making no progress toward its solution. Within a few years notable progress has been made in certain directions, but the efforts of statesmen and philanthropists are hampered by the obligations of treaties and agreements, whose operation is now recognized as ruinous to the Indians and injurious to ourselves. Let any unbiased person carefully inform himself of the condition of the five so called civilized tribes or nations in the Indian Territory as it was sixty years ago, and their present con-

dition as revealed by the report of the commission of which Mr. Dawes is chairman, and he cannot fail to see that, instead of advancing, they have fallen into a horrible quagmire of vice, crime and political debauchery and corruption, in which they are sinking deeper every year. This is true also in a measure, but not, I believe, without some exceptions, of other Indians who retain their tribal condition.

The obligations of treaties and agreements literally construed forbid our effectual interference for their rescue. Now, what shall be done? *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, of course. But is it justice to let agreements, however fairly and solemnly made, with beneficent purpose, but under misconception of the real interests of both parties, and without prevision of their future relations and conditions, become the means of perpetuating a state of things ruinous to one party and disastrous and disgraceful to the other?

Two methods of meeting this difficulty occur to me: First, buy up and extinguish all treaty rights by new agreements for cash or other immediate payments at a fair valuation. The result would certainly be disastrous to the Indians for a time. The payments would not benefit the Indians or remain in their hands, but would be distributed among the gamblers and ruffians of the frontier country reinforced by thousands of others, whom the scent of the prey would entice from all parts of the nation. Many more Indians would die of disease, debauchery and violence in one year than under present conditions. But afterward the government, relieved of all formal obligations, and of the confusing and paralyzing influence of conflicting theories as to Indians' rights and relations, would be free to deal with the whole question as justice and humanity might require, guided by such wisdom as experience has taught.

That is one way. Another, and probably a better way, is this: Let our government adopt in its future dealings with the Indians, having made formal, public declaration

thereof, a policy substantially as follows: All that in any form, expressly or by implication, we have undertaken to expend or to do for the Indians shall be expended and done with scrupulous fidelity. The national honor demands this, and we do not wish to be relieved of the least part of any burden we have assumed. But these national obligations on their behalf we declare to be the property of the Indians as wards, and to be employed by us as their guardians for their benefit, not necessarily in the precise methods and for the specific purposes originally contemplated, but in such manner and for such purposes as, guided by the wisest counsel we can command, we believe will best promote the real and permanent interest of the beneficiaries.

Under this policy, annuities, rations and other demoralizing and pauperizing subsidies would be discontinued, and the money thus saved would be spent for schools, for educating Indian children in schools and academies among civilized people, for roads, irrigation works and other public improvements in the Indian country, in which the Indians could have employment and thus earn their living.

It is a delicate and perhaps a dangerous undertaking thus to reject the letter, while respecting the spirit of our obligations, to discriminate among our promises, choosing which we will keep and which ought not to be kept. But the responsibility for the welfare of this dependent and subject, and doubtless much wronged people is upon us; we cannot shirk it. If we must confess that we have not honor and integrity enough at the command of our national government honestly to administer such a trust, "a century of dishonor" is but a trifling blot on our national character compared with the permanent infamy involved in the confession.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE stack-room and attic-hall shelving, completed last year, is a constant source of aid and comfort in the practical administration of the library. It has given us the long-desired space so essential to the proper classification and use of material which we delight to draw into our treasure-house.

The following paragraphs are from page 378 of the *American Historical Review*, Volume I., Number 2, for January, 1896. They introduce an article upon the American Antiquarian Society, which was prepared by my faithful chief assistant, Miss Mary Robinson, at the request of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, managing editor of the *Review*:—

When No. 45, "Notes on Special Collections in American Libraries" was published, in the series of *Bibliographical Contributions*, issued by the library of Harvard University, the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., was by chance omitted. As the pamphlet mentioned is of constant use to scholars, and as the Antiquarian Society's library is one of great importance to students of history, it has been thought that some notes upon its contents would be welcomed as a supplement to No. 45, by readers of the *Review*. The following notes have been prepared by Miss Mary Robinson, assistant to the librarian, Edmund M. Barton, Esq.

In this connection, I note for ready reference, and chronologically, the leading articles which have appeared relating to our Society and its library. They are:—

1. "An Account of the American Antiquarian Society by President Isaiah Thomas," published in November,

1813, and, in 1820 republished in the first volume of our Transactions.

2. Dr. John Park's "Preface to the Catalogue of the Society's Library," which was printed in 1837.

3. Mr. Nathaniel Paine's "Brief Notice of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society," presented in his Council Report of April 30, 1873, and separately printed.

4. Dr. Samuel F. Haven's "Contributions to the Special Report on Public Libraries in the United States of America: their History, Condition and Management," made through the United States Bureau of Education, in the year 1876.

5. "An Account of the American Antiquarian Society, with a List of its Publications," prepared for the International Exhibition of 1876, by Mr. Nathaniel Paine.

6. "A Sketch of the American Antiquarian Society," prepared by Mr. Henry M. Smith, for his *New England Home Journal*, of February 2, 1883, published in Worcester, Mass.

7. Mr. Nathaniel Paine's Account in his "Worcester Societies, Associations and Clubs," as written for the "History of Worcester County, Mass.," in 1889, and separately printed.

8. Mr. Samuel S. Green's Sketch, in his article upon Worcester Public Libraries, in the "History of Worcester County," published in 1889, and reprinted.

9. President Stephen Salisbury's contribution to the *Boston Commonwealth*, of October 17, 1891, as to the Society and its purposes.

10. Mr. Alfred S. Roe's Historical Tribute to the Society, in his *Light*, Volume IV., Number 7, October 17, 1891.

11. Mr. Andrew McF. Davis's History of the Society, in his "Historical Work in Massachusetts," prepared for Volume I., of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and separately printed in 1893.

12. Mr. Reuben Colton's "The Best Library of Early American Newspapers at Worcester, Mass.," in *Boston Evening Transcript*, of October 6, 1894.

13. Miss Mary Robinson's "Notes on the Library of

the American Antiquarian Society," in *American Historical Review*, Volume I., Number 2, January, 1896.

14. Mr. Nathaniel Paine's "Early American Imprints, 1640-1700," belonging to the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, in our Proceedings, Volume X., Part 2, October 23, 1895, and reprinted.

It is understood that from the notice by Mr. William Lincoln in his "History of Worcester," issued in 1837, to the latest reference in guide-book or directory, the Society has been quietly recognized as an institution of national as well as local importance. When, in 1912, the centennial history of this modest but venerable society shall be written, its offices of preserver, publisher and generous dispenser of historical material should be strongly presented. This will require not only a careful examination of the authorities named, but a study of our roll of members and their doings; an intelligent reference to other scholars of the century who have drawn facts and inspiration from our treasure-house of American history; and a close inspection of the Transactions and Proceedings as well as the official records of the Society. Our correspondence will also play its part in throwing light upon our connection with authors living and dead. I submit,—as suggestive of the nearness of such relations to one of America's great historians,—the following letter:—

Northampton, Mass., *July 31, 1834.*

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN, Esq.

Dear Sir:—I received your recent favor with much satisfaction. It is the opinion of those who are versed in American history that must decide on the fate of the work which has cost me so much time and labor. It is critical accuracy which is especially requisite; without it no valuable end can be attained. But while exact enquiry must furnish the basis, the arrangement and the manner of insertion are equally important points with the public. On all these points, I assure you, it was with real diffidence and hesitancy that I ventured to publish a volume. The reception which the public has given me has thus far been very

flattering; and furnishes the best encouragement to a zealous and persevering effort. As I go forward, I shall count unhesitatingly on the advantages that may be derived from your collections at Worcester and your own extensive personal acquaintance with their contents and merits. You teach me to rely implicitly on your candor.

Truly your obliged friend,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

A curious epidemic of stamp collecting, presumably for benevolent but clearly in some cases for fraudulent purposes, has recently prevailed. Individuals and even corporations have been asked to aid in sending to a given point a million or so of postage-stamps, to secure the medical, surgical, or educational treatment of some unfortunate. Failure to accept the invitation to become a "connecting link" has been followed by sharp and foolish criticism. Some of these stamp frauds have been exposed, while others are still active. The American Economic Association may well consider their object, history and suppression, with a view to checking their ill-effects, and thus helping the worthy poor and needy. For even well-known charitable societies have gathered such material, selected what was of present value and disposed of the remainder in bulk. While it may not be possible for our Post-Office Department to cancel thoroughly all used stamps, and thus prevent their second use, the temptation to the mean man should be made as light as modern methods will allow.

Your librarian has not hesitated to ask needed service of members in different parts of the country. The original "Laws of the American Antiquarian Society," adopted in 1812, under Article 2, specify among other duties of the Counsellors "to receive donations"; and in the revision of 1815, the same duties are assigned to "one Counsellor resident in each of the United States, and one in Plymouth old Colony and one in Maine." State Counsellors are officers of the past, but prompt and cheerful replies have been uniformly received. A representative member in each

State would be of advantage today, and the trend of opinion and action seems to be in that direction.

The library statistics follow : Sources of gifts, three hundred and twenty-five—the largest recorded—namely, from forty-four members, one hundred and fifty-five persons not members and one hundred and twenty-six societies and institutions. We have received therefrom eight hundred and thirty-four books, forty-one hundred and fourteen pamphlets, two volumes of bound and forty-two of unbound newspapers, twelve proclamations, six photographs, six manuscripts, six engravings, four maps, four stamps and one silver coin ; by exchange, twenty-five books, twenty-four pamphlets, thirteen photographs and two specimens of continental money ; and from the bindery, thirteen volumes of magazines and twenty-five of newspapers, a total of eight hundred and eighty-two books, forty-one hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets, twenty-seven volumes of bound and forty-two of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

President Salisbury's semi-annual gift includes the remainders of his honored father's reprints from the Society's Proceedings, and the remainder of the editions of the "Memorial of Stephen Salisbury." If we add to these the reprints of the President's Yucatecan brochures, we may report nearly five hundred desirable volumes as thereby added to our stock in trade. Early impressions from the presses at Bonn, Lisbon, Venice, *etc.*, have also been received from him.

The *non sibi sed aliis* spirit is still with us. Not long since a member took certain early volumes of the *North American Review* from his own set that he might have the pleasure of completing that of the Society. The printed statement that our Narragansett Club Publications lacked the rare Volume V.,—"George Fox Digg'd out of His Burrowes,"—has led to a like act by Prof. Franklin B. Dexter of our Council. While two hundred each of the first three volumes were published in 1866 and 1867, the edition of

Volume IV. in 1870 was one hundred and seventy, of Volume V. in 1872, one hundred thirty, and of Volume VI. in 1874, one hundred and sixty copies. The rarity of the fifth volume is thus accounted for.

Hon. Cushman K. Davis, upon his election to membership, added to our rare collection in the department of Indian linguistics, "Hymns of the Episcopal Church, translated into the Indian Language by James F. Gilfillan and others." Rev. William DeLoss Love, Jr., Ph.D., has given five London imprints of 1654, 1657 and 1658, being treatises and sermons "by that faithful servant of *Jesus Christ*, Mr. Christopher Love, Late Minister of Laurence Jury, London." Through the intervention of Hon. Ezra S. Stearns,—elected last October,—an important gap of seven volumes in the New Hampshire State Papers has been filled by the State Library. We have received from the United States Bureau of Labor,—by direction of its chief, our associate, Hon. Carroll D. Wright,—valued additions to the Society's collection of the reports of the department.

Mrs. Louise Pratt Harthan of Worcester, Mass., has given two half-length, oil portraits of John Bush and his wife, Abigail Adams Bush, grandparents of the late John Bush Pratt of Worcester. It was the wish of Mr. Pratt, of his son, Elnathan, and his niece, Mrs. Harthan, that they should find a resting-place in Antiquarian Hall. They were painted by McKay in August, 1791, in the quaint costumes of the period, and were carefully preserved by the elder Mr. Pratt for sixty years in the house in which George Bancroft was born. I add, for the benefit of posterity, a few notes received from William Frederic Holcombe, M.D., of New York,—grandnephew of John Bush: "John Bush 2d, was the 3d son of John Bush 1st and Hepzibah Keyes of Boylston, Mass. His 1st wife was¹ Charity Platt, relative of Tom Platt of New York, born at Rhinebeck, N. Y., 9 December, 1761, died at New York, 2 November, 1788.

¹ (?) Temperance.

John Bush went early to New York from Boylston,—then Shrewsbury North Parish, where he was born, 4 July, 1755, a twin brother of Jotham, who died in 1756. He was a Tory, and prospered in New York as a broker, seller of cattle, *etc.* He had an office and an inn in Water street near Wall, New York, now open as a very old restaurant known as George Browne's. Between 1795 and 1800, he moved to Worcester where he died, 28 January, 1816, in a mansion he bought on retiring from business, which house passed into the hands of Hon. Ira M. Barton, father of Edmund M. Barton, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. It was located on Main street, and is represented on page 550 of the second volume of C. F. Jewett and Company's 'History of Worcester County,' published in 1879. John Bush had a brother, Col. Jotham, grandfather of Dr. Wm. Fred. Holcombe of New York, whose great uncle, Rev. Reuben Holcombe of Sterling, Mass., married for his 2d wife, in 1824, Abigail Adams Bush of West Brookfield, 3d wife of John Bush of Worcester. John Bush was buried in Worcester."

From Hon. Eli Thayer we have received "James G. Birney and His Times. The Genesis of the Republican Party, with Some Account of the Abolition Movements in the South before 1828." Mr. Thayer's suggestive endorsement,—addressed to the librarian, 21 March, 1896,—follows:—

The author of this most thorough and reliable book,—Major General William Birney,—has sent it to me with the request that I should place it where it may be of the most use in promoting the truth. I therefore present it to your Society.

Mr. Ephraim Tucker has placed in our Family History alcove, for service rendered, his "Genealogy of the Tucker Family," and Mr. James A. Searight his "Record of the Searight Family," though he sought no aid from us. They are both,—in a representative sense,—gratefully acknowl-

edged. By the gift of our binders,—Joseph S. Wesby and Sons,—large additions have been made to our town and kindred documents, while the duplicates have elsewhere served a like purpose. By vote of the Club of Odd Volumes, and through the editor, our associate, Mr. James F. Hunnewell, we have received Volumes II. and III. of their facsimiles of Early American Poetry. It will be remembered that Volume I. was mentioned in my report of a year ago and that the edition of each volume is limited to one hundred copies. The originals of such rarities as have thus been reproduced must primarily be sought in such collections as our own, and our Roll of Members may suggest intelligent editorial service. To what extent the reproduction in facsimile of such rarities affects the market value of the originals is still an open question, but well edited, they may be a decided contribution to knowledge. It was Sir James Mackintosh who said, “Diffused knowledge immortalizes itself.” The gift by Columbian Lodge, A. F. & A. M., Boston, of its centenary volume, is accepted with thanks, and with the hope of like favors from other early lodges. It contains a notice of our founder, who was Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1795–1797, and Grand Master, 1803–1805 and 1809. The masonic and antimasonic material carefully secured by Dr. Thomas has of late been much sought for historical purposes. The Library Company of Philadelphia has presented a cabinet photograph of its desk formerly used by William Penn, with a view to a comparison with our Belcher and Leverett desks which,—with our other colonial furniture,—were described in my reports of October, 1894, and October, 1895. The letter accompanying it,—written on January 14, 1806, by George Maurice Abbot, Treasurer, contains the following paragraph:—

Enclosed you will find a photograph of an old desk owned by this library, which at one time was the property of William Penn, and was used by him at his manor in

Pennsylvania. Like all old furniture it has suffered from time and the efforts to keep it in what was considered good order. Our desire is to have the paint taken off, restoring the old oak to its natural condition. The doors are very modern and made of poplar, and my object in writing to you is to ask if you know of any desk of this period which has the old doors on it from which we could have a picture made to help us in restoring our desk as well as we can to what might have been its original state.

The mass of government documents heretofore received from the United States Department of the Interior in bulk, now reaches us through the Superintendent of Documents, as each volume comes from the press. This agreeable change is in the line of the speedier methods of to-day.

An "Alarm List" blank, recently received, is herewith submitted for judgment as to the date of its use:—

TRAIN BAND and ALARM LIST *MUSTER*.

To

YOU are hereby notified and warned to appear on parade at the meeting house in

at o'clock, P. M. with arms, ammunition and accoutrements complete according to law, viz. a good firearm, with a steel or iron ramrod, and a spring to retain the same—a worm, priming wire and brush—a bayonet fitted to your firearm, and a scabbard and belt for the same—a cartridge box that will hold fifteen cartridges at least—six flints—one pound of powder—forty leaden balls, suitable for your firearm—a haversack, blanket and canteen—in order to be reviewed; and there to attend further orders.

Captain.

The recent examination of a priced catalogue of 1,300 titles relating to slavery and rebellion again calls attention to the present worth of a special fund for the upbuilding of Alcove N, which is devoted to such literature. In its absence, I suggest the use of a portion of the income from the George E. Ellis Fund, when it can be spared for that purpose. On February 15, 1896, we began to use for our card catalogue, accession book, and general correspondence, the "Massachusetts Standard Record Ink." While time

alone must decide whether this is another nineteenth century improvement, it is not too early to thank the Record Commissioner and his chemists for their careful attention to this important subject. Encouraged by the results which have followed the announcement of special library needs, I remark that through the last Brinley sale and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we have nearly completed our set of the valued publications of that our sister Society. We, however, still lack memoirs, Vol. 1, Part 2, and Vol. 2, Part 1; and of their Proceedings, numbers 2, 3 and 7. These latter are called, upon the title-page, "Bulletins," and the work is backed "Vol. 1., 1845-1847." While we have a complete file of the *Library Journal*,—the official organ of the American Library Association,—we need of their "Papers and Proceedings," 1-3 and 13 to complete a set received from the librarian.

Attention is called to the fact that Col. Albert A. Pope of Boston, is making a special collection of publications relating to road construction and maintenance. This collection is to be open for the use of the public. It has been one of our missions to aid such efforts, on the ground that material thus gathered by specialists of note is likely to be kept together in some permanent institution. There appears to be no valid objection to fostering such an undertaking, especially when it can be done in the line of exchange. I note the following items for the benefit of such as are so fortunate as to possess our early publications. In the printed proceedings of the annual meeting, October 23, 1849,—made up by the scholarly and modest librarian, Samuel Foster Haven,—it is briefly stated that "the report of the Council was read." That Mr. Haven was the author appears in our office copy by his pencilled autograph at the end thereof. The appreciative memoir of Albert Gallatin, by Rev. Edward E. Hale,—which appears in the same number,—does not bear his name though elsewhere he is mentioned as the author. Again, the report of

the Council for May 29, 1850, bears no name, though the library copy has the attestation of President Salisbury that it was written by Mr. Samuel M. Burnside. I desire to commend to favorable consideration the restoration of imperfect rare books; an art which is encouraged abroad and which at home has been successfully followed by a few experts. This Society's experience would seem to prove the importance of preserving even fragments, especially of early imprints, and there would be a decided advantage in bringing together in our own country all such imperfect American imprints, as well as such imprints as relate to America.

The American Antiquarian Society will always welcome modern improvements. A recent examination of our collection of over 1,300 directories shows a marked change for the better in the quality of this class of books, and makes it seem all the more desirable to add thereto. The suggestions of librarians, as well as of other citizens historically and genealogically inclined, have helped to effect this happy change. To illustrate these improvements, I call your attention to a note in an 1896 directory, as follows: "Deaths. The date of death and age of all citizens dying during the past year, whose names have appeared in the directory, are recorded against the name in the proper alphabetical place in the present book. In the same manner each directory since 1876 contains a record of those who died the previous year, so that the several volumes of the directory embrace for this period a mortuary list of great value for reference." And again, under removals: "Against names showing removals from the city, the post-office address is given; if into another State, both the post-office and State are given." Thus in the first instance we have "—— Charlotte, died March 18, 1892, aged 68," and in the second, "—— Ralph W. removed to Providence, R. I." As in the second example —— Ralph W's name does not again appear, we may fix the year of removal as 1892, and this fact is learned even though the record be

simply "removed from the city." I note one other item, viz. : "—— Dorinda B. widow of Charles C.," the maiden name thus being preserved when it is possible to secure it. The modern house directory is practically a family address-book and real estate valuation record. Its utility is likely to increase as municipalities grow and families scatter.

Our associate, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, in the *Library Journal*, for October, 1895, has a short but instructive paper on "Directories in Public Reference Libraries." I quote from it briefly that, by so doing, attention may be called to it as a whole. He says :—

I wonder how many of our large public libraries are in the habit of accumulating miscellaneous city and state directories old and current? Not many, I fancy; yet if members of our craft generally understood the practical value of these, in numerous lines of research, there would be a wider demand for this now largely neglected class of books. I have visited many an ambitious city library whose otherwise enterprising chief has looked me to scorn when I enquired whether he had a full file of his own city directories. "We have no room for such rot." Yet, if you will bear with me, these contemporary lists of the city's inhabitants, together with full files of the local newspapers,—the daily mirror of the city's life,—would be quite as important on his shelves as anything he has there; more so than many of his volumes. * * * A wide range of queries, many of them of supreme importance, are answered by the directories; any keeper of a collection of them can tell you curious tales of his experiences. * * * In a variety of ways,—commercial, professional and literary,—collections of directories are of real value and are eagerly sought.

While seconding this reasonable appeal for directory *preservation*, I would again strongly emphasize the importance and possibility of their *improvement* through the influence of the wide-spread membership in our own and kindred societies. On the other hand, a closer acquaintance with our town reports leaves, on the whole, a less favorable impression, though there are hopeful signs of a return to

some of the older and in not a few cases better forms of report making. Forty years ago, for instance, we could find not infrequently a record of births, marriages and deaths, with other statistics of interest. There is now no uniformity whatever in such publications, as will be seen by a brief reference to three recent reports before me. 1, The early and representative town of Beverly, Massachusetts, in a document of more than two hundred pages gives no such statistics as are above mentioned, but contains over fifty pages of certified town records for the municipal year. Would it not be much more profitable to print the same number of pages of its earliest records, *i. e.*, from 1668? 2, Dedham, Massachusetts, in its report, supplies a list of births, including the date, name of child, name of parents, birthplace of father and birthplace of mother; of marriages, giving the name, age and residence of the parties as well as by whom the marriage was solemnized; and of deaths, showing date, name, age and cause of death. 3, Westborough, Massachusetts, in its latest official list of persons assessed a poll tax, adds the age, occupation and residence of each person, so far as known. Another report, while carefully omitting such entries, gives the names of the town paupers with a list of those who have died during the year and the cost of each burial. Again, a chairman of the school board reports to his constituents, in part, as follows:—

You are aware, fellow-citizens, of the changing and shifting idiosyncracies of our population. Like the Irishman's flea it is pretty much all the time on the move. The native youth, well raised and educated (as he believes,) in our common school, takes his fortune in his hand and seeks the commercial centres to try his luck, and at first to turn an honest penny. Some few succeed; but the majority, catching the mania of fast life prevailing in the cities, cast their country honesty to the winds like so much filthy raiment, and tricking themselves out in the latest shoddy, like Shakespeare's soldier, "bearded like the pard," seek the bubble, wealth, "e'en in the cannon's mouth." Some, like the lamented James Fisk, rush boldly into Wall Street

and astonish the financial world by their stupendous frauds, made apparently honorable by a lucky venture in speculation; while others, of a more demure and retiring nature, step down into the Southern States and quietly consent to become Governors to those distracted Commonwealths before their carpet-bags become cool in their strangely acquired lodgings.

We may hope that the employment of well-trained school superintendents or supervisors, now to some extent encouraged by state legislation, will not only tend to raise the educational standard, but also to encourage the careful recording of facts rather than fancies, in all town reports.

Edward Everett Hale, then Councillor and now Vice-President, and Nathaniel Paine, then as now Treasurer, are the only surviving officers under whom the present librarian entered your service, on April 1, 1866. At the April meeting of that year, Mr. Paine read his Council report on the "Early Paper Currency of Massachusetts"; Dr. Haven acknowledged the receipt of the remainder of the William Bentley books and manuscripts as bequeathed by Dr. Bentley's nephew, Mr. William Bentley Fowle; and Hon. Ira M. Barton, chairman of a committee to consider the increase of the limit of one hundred and forty domestic members, reported inexpedient to change the limit. The Treasurer reported the face value of the four funds in his keeping as \$49,943.14, namely:—

Librarian's and General Fund,	. . .	\$23,758.85
Collection and Research	" . . .	10,630.70
Bookbinding	" . . .	8,108.34
Publishing	" . . .	7,445.25

After thirty years, we find the four funds of say \$50,000 increased to fourteen funds of a face value of about \$130,000, and the Society moving quietly forward on its well-known and useful mission.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ANGELL, JAMES B., LL.D., Ann Arbor, Mich.—His “Address before the University of Missouri, June 4, 1895.”
- BALDWIN, HON. SIMEON E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His “Historical Address at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Chamber of Commerce of New Haven.”
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Fifteen pamphlets; one silver coin; and “Worcester's Young Men” and “St. Andrew's Cross,” in continuation.
- BRINTON, DAVID G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his linguistic brochures.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—One newspaper.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Three books; thirty-eight pamphlets; two plans; manuscript and records of the Foreign Book Club of Worcester, about the year 1860.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—Caldwell's “Studies in the Constitutional life of Tennessee.”
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His “Provincial Banks: Land and Silver.”
- DAVIS, HON. CUSHMAN K., St. Paul, Minn.—“Hymns of the Episcopal Church, translated into the Indian language by James A. Gilfillan and others.”
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Publications of the Narragansett Club, Vol. V.; Gower's “Colonial Houses of New Haven”; and “History of Christ Episcopal Church in Guilford, Conn.”
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—“John F. Slater Fund, Occasional Paper, No. 6.”
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—“Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden”; fifteen books; twenty-one pamphlets; three plates; and three broadsides.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Six of his historical brochures; fourteen books; two hundred and ninety-seven pamphlets; four proclamations; three charts; one colored print; one photograph; one portrait; and one map.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—“Rules, Regulations and Documents of the Free Public Library of the City of Worcester.”

HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Numbers of "Lend a Hand," to complete file; and U. S. Weather Bureau Maps, 1893-1895, in continuation.

HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—"The Unveiling of Col. Knowlton's Statue"; and three proclamations.

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Oration at Plymouth, December 21, 1895, at the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims"; ten books; one hundred and seventy-three pamphlets; manuscript material relating to George Folsom; one photograph; and one lithograph.

HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York, N. Y.—His "*Nunc Dimittis*, a Communion address, spoken in Grace Church, New York, on the morning of Sunday, February the Second, MDCCCXCVI."

KINGSBURY, FREDERICK J., LL.D., Waterbury, Conn.—His "Tendency of men to Live in Cities."

LEÓN, NICOLAS, Gaudalupe, Mex.—One pamphlet.

LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DELOSS, JR., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—"Samuel Gleason's Diary," with notes by Dr. Love; four treatises and sermons by Rev. Christopher Love; and one pamphlet.

MARCH, FRANCIS A., LL.D., Easton, Pa.—"Address in Honor of Prof. Francis A. March, LL.D., L.H.D., October 24, 1895."

MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Two of his historical addresses; three books; one hundred and sixty-nine pamphlets; and "The Nation," in continuation.

MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Papers on Florida Mounds."

NELSON, HON. THOMAS L., Worcester.—"Catalogue of the Worcester County Law Library, Supplement, 1895."

NOURSE, HON. HENRY S., Lancaster.—His "Ancient Names of Local Hills, Rivers and Lakes."

PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—"The Spirit of Missions," as issued.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Four books; two hundred and twenty-eight pamphlets; three files of newspapers, in continuation; one portrait; and various circulars.

PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PERRY, RIGHT REV. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—Two of his historical brochures; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.

PORTER, REV. EDWARD G., Dorchester.—His article, "The Red Cross is coming"; and other material relating thereto.

PUTNAM, PROF. FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—Two of his archaeological brochures.

ROGERS, GEN. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.—His “Mary Dyer of Rhode Island, the Quaker Martyr.”

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Three hundred and sixty books; five hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets; ten files of newspapers, in continuation; and one broadside.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His “Annual Report as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1896.”

STEARNS, HON. EZRA S., Rindge, N. H.—Five volumes relating to New Hampshire.

STEBBINS, REV. CALVIN, Worcester.—One book; five hundred and nineteen magazines; “The Nation” and “Christian Register,” in continuation; and one photograph.

TAFT, HENRY W., Pittsfield.—One book; and sixteen pamphlets.

TOPPAN, ROBERT N., Cambridge.—His “Hundred Years of Bank Note Engraving in the United States.”

WEEDEN, WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—“The Mercury and Gazette, April 6-11, 1896,” containing his notes on “The First American Newspaper,” and “The Governor Greene Documents.”

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Three of his historical brochures.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ABBOT, WILLIAM F., Worcester.—Two addresses on “Tariff Reform.”

ALDRICH, MRS. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Fourteen volumes of the “Congressional Record”; and the “Boston Daily Advertiser” for 1895, in continuation.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of the “University Magazine.”

AMES, JOHN G., Washington, D. C.—His “Report regarding the Receipt, Distribution, *etc.*, of Public Documents, 1894-95.”

APPLETON, FRANCIS H., Boston.—Four of his addresses.

BAILEY, ISAAC H., New York.—The “Shoe and Leather Reporter,” as issued; and the “Annual.”

BAIR, O. W., Chattanooga, Tenn.—Numbers of his “Southern Immigrant.”

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—The “Association Record,” in continuation.

BELL, A. N., M.D., New York.—Numbers of his “Sanitarian.”

BLAKE, FRANCIS E., Boston.—A manuscript relating to the American Antiquarian Society.

BLAKE, SAMUEL C., M.D., Chicago, Ill.—Two Chicago pamphlets.

BOSTONIAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their “Bostonian.”

BROWN, HENRY W., Worcester.—Three books; four pamphlets; and one newspaper.

BROWNE, FRANCIS F., Chicago, Ill.—His "Dial," as issued.

BURGESS, REV. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Four books; thirteen pamphlets; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

BURRELLE, FRANK A., New York.—Numbers of his "Magazine of Events"; and of his "Clipping Collector."

BURTON, C. M., Detroit, Mich.—Two of his historical brochures.

BUXTON, G. EDWARD, M.D., National City, Cal.—Three of his medical pamphlets.

CARROLL, CLARENCE F., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—"Tribute to Miss Marion Holbrook."

CASELL PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Three magazines.

CHEEVER, REV. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—The "Hawaiian Gazette," in continuation.

CHICKERING, PROF. JOSEPH K., New Haven, Conn.—"History of the Class of '69, Amherst College, 1889-94"; four pamphlets; and various circulars.

CHIVERS, CEDRIC, London, Eng.—Numbers of his "New Book List."

CILLEY, GEN. J. P., Rockland, Me.—Numbers of his "Maine Bugle."

CLARK, REV. GEORGE F., West Acton.—The "Temperance Record," Vol. 1; "Woman's Journal"; and "The Voice," in continuation.

CLARK, J. M., Toronto, Canada.—His "The Functions of a Great University."

COATES, HENRY T., AND COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of the "Literary Era."

COLTON, MRS. SAMUEL H., Worcester.—Nineteen selected books.

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.

CONATY, REV. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His "Catholic School and Home Magazine."

CRANDALL, F. A., *Superintendent*, Washington, D. C.—Two of his Reports; and "Check List of Public Documents," as issued.

CROSS, REV. EDWARD S., Silver City, N. M.—His sermon on "Good and Bad Foundations in time of Flood."

CULIN, STEWART, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Korean Games, with notes on the Corresponding Games of China and Japan."

CURTIS AND COMPANY, Boston.—Small's "Handbook of the New Public Library in Boston."

CUSHING, HARRY A., New York.—His "The People the best Governors."

- DEMENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—Numbers of his “Hesperian.”
- DENNY, HON. CHARLES A., Leicester.—“The Seventeenth Annual Report of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts.”
- DEWEY, MRS. FRANCIS H., Worcester.—Seven historical pamphlets.
- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—The Scott Company Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1896.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Their “Book Review,” as issued.
- DOWNING, WILLIAM H., Olton, Eng.—His book-plate.
- DROWN, JOHN W., Worcester.—His “Manuscript Notes on the David Foster Family.”
- DUNN, MRS. ROBINSON P., Worcester.—Thirty-four college pamphlets.
- DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Report as President of Yale University, 1895.
- EARLE, STEPHEN C., Worcester.—Twenty-seven pamphlets.
- ESTABROOK, GEORGE H., Worcester.—United States Consular Reports, for 1895, in continuation.
- ESTOCLET, A., Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of his “Scorcher.”
- EUSTIS, W. E. C., Boston.—“Notes Concerning the Channing Family.”
- EVERETT, HON. WILLIAM, Quincy.—Plan of the U. S. House of Representatives in 1823; and one pamphlet.
- FAY, ALBERT E., Worcester.—“The Aftermath, '95, W. P. I.”
- FOLSOM, ALBERT A., Boston.—“Two Hundred and Fifty-seventh Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.”
- FOSTER, HORATIO A., New York.—Numbers of his “Electric Power.”
- FOURNIER, MARELL, Paris, France.—Numbers of his “Revue Politique et Parlementaire.”
- GARDEN AND FOREST PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of “Garden and Forest.”
- GARDNER, MISS MARY BELLOWES, New York.—Two vases of early date.
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- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The “Golden Rule,” as issued.
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- GRISWOLD, WILLIAM M., Cambridge.—Numbers of his “Reader.”

HALL, J. BRAINERD, Worcester.—Five pamphlets relating to the Union Veterans' Union.

HARLOW, FREDERICK B., Worcester.—Four facsimile U. S. Department of State stamps.

HART, CHARLES HENRY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Several newspaper articles from his pen.

HARTMAN, MRS. LOUISE PRATT, Worcester.—Two framed oil portraits of John Bush and his wife, Abigail Bush.

HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His article on the "Dunster Papers."

HATHAWAY, SAMUEL, Worcester.—His "Ruth and Naomi, a Paraphrase"; and his "History of the Worcester Guards and the Worcester City Guards, 1840-1896."

HILDEBRAND, HANS, Stockholm, Sweden.—One pamphlet.

HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Park's "Outlines of Ancient History and Chronology"; and nineteen engraved heads.

HILL, DON G., Dedham.—"An Alphabetical Abstract of the Record of Marriages in Dedham, 1844-1890."

HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—One of his geological brochures.

HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—One programme.

HUBBARD, OLIVER P., New York.—His "MacMaster's History Tested."

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of the "International Magazine."

JACKSON, MME. JAMES, Paris, France.—Obituary Notices of James Jackson.

JAMES, EDMUND J., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Five of his brochures.

JONES, AUGUSTINE, Providence, R. I.—His "Moses Brown; his Life and Services."

JONES, REV. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—Bishop Potter's Address at the Dedication of Carnegie Music Hall; and numbers of the "Parish Guest."

JONES, MRS. JOSEPH, New Orleans, La.—"Tributes to Joseph Jones, M.D., LL.D."

LATCH, EDWARD B., Frankford, Pa.—His "Stonehenge as Elucidated according to Mosaic System of Chronology."

LOWDERMILK AND COMPANY, W. H., Washington, D. C.—Numbers of the "Washington Book Chronicle."

MARVIN, WILLIAM T. R., Boston.—The "American Journal of Numismatics," as issued.

McELROY, REV. IRVING, *Secretary*, Waterloo, Ia.—"Journal of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the Diocese of Iowa."

MELVILLE, HENRY, New York.—His "Ancestry of John Whitney."

- MESSENGER COMPANY, Worcester.—The “Messenger,” as issued.
- METHUEN AND COMPANY, London, Eng.—Numbers of their “Book Gazette and Notes.”
- MILLER, Lient. SAMUEL L., Waldoboro, Me.—Numbers of his “Lincoln County News.”
- MINER, E. L., New York.—Numbers of his “Illustrated Photographic World.”
- MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—His “Paper on the Original Owners of Nassau Street, New York”; and two pamphlets.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.
- NEW YORK WORLD.—The “World Almanac and Encyclopedia,” 1896.
- O’CONNOR, TIMOTHY F., Worcester.—“The Aftermath, ’95,” W. P. I.
- OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“Open Court,” as issued.
- PARVIN, THEOPHILUS, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “A Physician on Vivisection.”
- PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—“Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the City Hospital.”
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, Mexico, Mex.—One book.
- PETERS, EUGENE, Washington, D. C.—“Proceedings at the Celebration of the Centennial of the American Patent System.”
- PETERSON COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of the “Peterson Magazine.”
- PIETRE, Ed., Rumigny, France.—One pamphlet.
- PIERCE, CHARLES F., Worcester.—One book; and sixteen pamphlets.
- POLITICAL SCIENCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of “Gunton’s Magazine.”
- PRAY SONS AND COMPANY, JOHN H., Boston.—King’s “Boston Views.”
- REED, Mrs. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Two books.
- REED, Miss M. E. VAUGHAN, Worcester.—Six selected books.
- RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—The “Religious Herald,” as issued.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—His “Summary Military History of Worcester.”
- RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—“Manual for the General Court of Massachusetts, 1896.”
- RICH, MARSHALL N., Portland, Me.—The “Portland Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.
- RIORDAN, JOHN J., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—Pamphlets, certificates and programmes relating to the Worcester Evening High School.

ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Fifteen pamphlets; "Monthly Record of Five Points House of Industry"; and "Westminster Teacher," in continuation.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," in continuation.

ROCKWELL, ROBERT C., Pittsfield.—Various circulars of early date; and an autograph of Elihu Burritt.

ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—The "Barre Gazette," as issued.

ROWELL, GEORGE P., AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their "Printer's Ink."

ROY, J. ARTHUR, Worcester.—His "Worcester Canadien." Vol. X. 1896.

RUGG, ARTHUR P., Worcester.—The "Clinton Courant," in continuation.

SALEM GAZETTE COMPANY.—The "Salem Daily Gazette," as issued.

SCIENCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, St. Louis, Mo.—Numbers of their "Home Science Magazine."

SEARIGHT, JAMES A., Uniontown, Pa.—His "Record of the Searight Family."

SEDELMAYER, CHARLES, Paris, France.—Illustrated Catalogue of the Sedelmeyer Gallery. Part 2.

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—The "Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.

SHEPARD, CHARLES H., Peabody.—The "Peabody Union," as issued.

SOULE, NICHOLAS E., Worcester.—Street's "Historical Sketch of John Phillips."

SPRAGUE, HON. AUGUSTUS B. R., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His "Inaugural Address, Jan. 6, 1896."

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Worcester Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

STONE, MRS. JOHN L., Marlborough.—Her "Souvenir of a part of the descendants of Gregory and Lydia Cooper Stone."

SUN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Worcester Weekly Sun," as issued.

SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—"The Eighth Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns and Counties in Massachusetts."

TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—Their Daily and Sunday Telegram, in continuation.

THAYER, HON. ELI, Worcester.—"James G. Birney and His Times."

THOMPSON, MRS. JOSEPH, Atlanta, Ga.—Programme of the Congress of Librarians.

TOOKER, WILLIAM W., Sag Harbor, N. Y.—Four of his archaeological brochures.

TOWNLEY, JOSEPH B., Worcester.—A photograph of Meltiah B. Green, of Worcester, Mass.

TRANSATLANTIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of their "Information."

TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—The "Traveler's Record," as issued.

TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—His "Collector," as issued.

TUCKER, EPHRAIM, Worcester.—His "Genealogy of the Tucker Family."

TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.

UTLEY, HON. SAMUEL, Worcester.—His "Notes on the Utley Family" as printed in the account of the Unveiling of the Col. Thomas Knowlton Statue; and Stephen Burroughs's Sermon in Rutland on a "Hay-Mow."

VISING, MRS. WILLIAM R., Whitman.—The "North American Review, 1821-29," in eighteen bound volumes.

VINTON, REV. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

W P I EDITORS.—The "W P I," as issued.

WALKER, REV. GEORGE L., D.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "Capture of Louisbourg."

WALKER, HON. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—Two of his Congressional speeches.

WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Montpelier, Vt.—The "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

WERNER COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Their "Self-Culture," as issued.

WESBY, JOSEPH S., AND SONS, Worcester.—Eighty books; fifteen hundred and fifteen pamphlets; three maps; three heliotypes; one portrait; and a file of newspapers.

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WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E., Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Journal of Zoöphilosophy," as issued.

WOMAN'S PROGRESS COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Woman's Progress," as issued.

YALE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Yale Review," as issued.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Transactions of the Academy, as issued.
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- AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Eighty-fifth Annual Report of the Board.
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- ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—History of the Company, Vol. 1, 1637-1738; and Roll of Members, *etc.*
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Catalogue for 1895-96.
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- BOSTON, CITY OF.—City Documents of 1895 in four volumes.
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Annual Report, 1895.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.
- BOSTON RECORD COMMISSIONER.—The Twenty-Sixth Report.
- BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, January 14, 1896.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE LIBRARY.—"Bibliographical Contributions," No. 5.
- BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—The Society's publications, as issued.

- BROOKLINE LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Catalogue of the University, 1895-1896.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Transactions of the Institute, as issued.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Annual Report of the Society, 1895.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Reports for 1895.
- CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES.—Volumes II. and III. of their reprints of Early American Poetry.
- COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—College publications, as issued.
- COLUMBIAN LODGE OF A. F. AND A. M., Boston.—“Centenary of Columbian Lodge, A. F. and A. M., Boston”; and “Consecration of Burial Lot at Mount Auburn.”
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—Eight Connecticut State documents.
- CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—The Register, 1895-96.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Register, as issued.
- DEDHAM, TOWN OF.—The Town Report for 1895.
- DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fifteenth Annual Report.
- DRURY COLLEGE.—The College Catalogue for 1895-96.
- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY.—The Tenth Annual Report.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Institute publications, as issued.
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM, Chicago, Ill.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FORBES LIBRARY, Northampton.—The First Annual Report, 1895.
- GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA.—Series of maps relating to the Survey.
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The “Hartford Seminary Record,” as issued; and the Annual Register, 1895-96.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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- HISTORISCHER VEREIN VON OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Society publications, as issued.
- INSTITUTO MEDICO NACIONAL, Mexico, Mex.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- JERSEY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fifth Annual Report; and the “Library Record,” as issued.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- LANCASTER, TOWN OF.—The Thirty-third Annual Report.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Photograph of desk formerly belonging to William Penn, now in their possession; and the "Library Bulletin," as issued.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Seventh Annual Report.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Collections and Proceedings" of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Higginson's "Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the War of 1861-65," Vol. 2; eleven State documents; and one proclamation.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, Vol. VIII., 6th Series; twenty historical pamphlets; and "Journal Officiel de la Republique Française," 1870-1881.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS LIBRARY CLUB.—The Club Handbook, 1896.

MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

MERIDEN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION.—Transactions of the Association, Vol. VII.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY. The Sixth Annual Report.

MINNESOTA, STATE OF.—Reports of the Minnesota Weather Service, as issued.

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NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Seventh Annual Report.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF BROOKLYN.—Proceedings at the Annual Meeting in 1896.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—"Account of their 90th Anniversary Celebration."

NEW HAMPSHIRE, STATE OF.—State Manual, 1895.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE LIBRARY.—New Hampshire State Papers, volumes 18-26.

NEW JERSEY STATE LIBRARY.—Annual Report for the year 1895.

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NOVA SCOTIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.—College Library Bulletin, Vol. I., No. 3.

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QUINCY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Account of the Opening of the Society's Rooms, October 10, 1895.

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REYNOLDS LIBRARY, Rochester, N. Y.—The Tenth Annual Report.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—The Society's Journal, as issued.

RUTGERS COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Twenty-one catalogues to fill gaps.

SAINT LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Fiftieth Annual Report of the Association.

SAINT LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1894-95.

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Seventh Annual Report; and the Bulletin, as issued.

SCRANTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Report for 1895.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—“Collections” and miscellaneous publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society's Papers, Vol. III.

SPRINGFIELD PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Collections and Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

SYRACUSE CENTRAL LIBRARY.—The Annual Reports, 1894 and 1895.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—The Reports of 1892-95; and “Circulars,” as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Two pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DOCUMENTS.—Seventy-nine volumes of government publications.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Twenty-three government documents; and the Patent Office Gazette, as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.—Seven of the department publications.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Official Records, War of the Rebellion, as issued.

UNIVERSITÉ DE BRUXELLES.—*Revue*, Vol. I, No. 12.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—The Annual Report, 1895.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.—Catalogue of the University, 1895-96.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WEDNESDAY CLUB, Worcester.—All Saints’ Kalendar, 1896.

WENHAM, TOWN OF.—The Annual Reports for 1895-96.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—Two pamphlets relating to the University.

WORCESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Transactions of the Society for 1894.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

WORCESTER CLUB.—Forty-six numbers of Magazines; and the “Critic” and “Nation,” in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Ten pamphlets; and twenty-two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Yale Catalogue, 1895-96.

YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Manor Hall number of the Bulletin.

NOTES ON EARLY AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

MINERVA, we are told, appeared before the world in a manner that might be called unique, and so did the products of the earliest printing-presses, which appeared at once in full-grown perfection. If two centuries later our primitive books did not rival them, they have an interest and a value, both in themselves and in their position in the history of a great nation, that, as time passes, will make them more and more precious.

A majority of our earlier authors were ministers, and, naturally, their works are largely theological or doctrinal, yet the variety of subjects treated by them, and by others, was as great as their time and place permitted, and really made no small variety and no trifling aggregate, which are well worth examining.

Any one who now tries to collect the works of these authors will be rather sensibly aware of their number, and of their value as expressed in current funds.

The first paragraph in the body of the first book printed in our country is so good a text or motto for everything to follow, that it may well be recalled from page one of "The Whole Booke of Psalms," Cambridge, 1640:—

“O Bleſſed man, that in th’ advice
of wicked doeth not walk :
nor ſtand in flinners way, nor ſit
in chayre of ſcornfull folk.”

Starting with psalmody, our earliest literature had a rather large proportion of it, and through all following time no small amount.

At first, and for many years, *Historical Works* were not numerous. Including pamphlets on special topics along with the larger works, and excepting two classes mentioned later, it is hard to enumerate over thirty-eight to forty published during the seventy-six years after 1640, beginning with Morton's "New England's Memorial," 4^o, 220 pages, Cambridge, 1669, and ending with Church's "Philip's War," 4^o, 120 pages, Boston, 1716. This war formed the subject of half a dozen, or a few more, publications from 1676 to 1682. The Revolution of 1688 did the same for about a dozen. Mather's "Short History of New England," Mayhew's "Success of the Gospel," and Scot-tow's "Planting of Massachusetts Colony," came in 1694. Miscellaneous works, most of them small, followed.

There were two subjects of special interest on which there were groups of works that should be added. During the 17th century, publications on *Witchcraft* were sufficiently numerous in London. While it was of universal, it was of course of local, interest, and furnished material for several American works. Remarks about them here should be brief after Mr. Winsor's elaborate paper on the subject in the last number of the "Proceedings." As a marked part of the present general subject, some mention of these works is, however, needed. In 1689, came Mather's "Memorable Providences," and two years afterwards his "Late Memorable Providences * * Recommended by the ministers of Boston and Charlestown." In 1692, the Rev. Deodat Lawson added a "Brief and True Narrative" of events at Salem, and the Rev. Increase Mather "A Further Account," which was more general, while from Samuel Willard, Philadelphia, came "Some Miscellany Observations." The next year Lawson published a sermon "Christ's Fidelity the Only Shield against Satan's Malignity," Cotton Mather his large work on "The Wonders of the Invisible World," and Increase Mather, "Cases of Conscience." In 1696, the last named issued his "Angelographia," on

the Holy and the Fallen Angels, and also a supplementary "Disquisition." Four years later, Robert Calef published in London a compilation entitled "More Wonders of the Invisible World," which elicited at Boston, in 1701, "Remarks" on his work, called a "scandalous book." In 1702, also at Boston, appeared what is now one of the greatest rarities on the subject, "A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft," by the Rev. John Hale of Beverly. In 1704, Lawson's "Satan's Malignity" was republished in London, and as late as 1720, also there, a second edition of Francis Hutchinson's "Historical Essay."

Notwithstanding the conduct of the *Quakers* and legislation hereabouts in the seventeenth century, there were few publications. Roger Williams's book, "George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes," appeared in 1676, and was followed in 1677, by Fox's answer, "A New England Fire Brand Quenched," but there was very little more until 1690, when a series of controversial tracts relating to George Keith began. There were at least four this year, and over twenty in the course of seven years; indeed, they make about three-quarters of the American Quaker literature of the seventeenth century, and they were chiefly Pennsylvanian.

While there were not many *Biographies* or *Lives*, there was a large number of Memorial Discourses, containing, along with much of a theological or doctrinal nature, some personal history. The writer makes a list of 214 printed within the first hundred years of the American Press. Seventeen years had passed before the earliest Biography appeared—the Rev. John Norton's "Life of the Rev. John Cotton," 4^o, 56 pages, 1657. Except in 1706, there were only one or two Discourses in a year until 1711. Later there were one to ten in a year, except 1727 with sixteen, and 1728 with thirteen. They form a large class, notable, interesting and praiseworthy, for matter, for style, and still more, for the pious and kindly regard they show for men

and women honored and loved in their place and generation.

Sermons attending the execution of criminals were more numerous than they would now be. As memorable a work as the first printed in Boston was one of them—the Rev. Increase Mather's "Wicked Man's Portion," a Lecture, January 18, 1674, on Two Men, 4^o, 25 pages, issued in 1675. Terrors were added to death by the length and the nature of some of these compositions.

Practical or prosaic as may have been the people, and engrossed as they were in labors for a living, there were *poets* almost as numerous as historians. As already mentioned, the first book printed within the limits of our country was in verse, and verse that exercised the powers of at least three of the best men then in the land. Such a favorite was it that it was republished and revised to many an edition for the use and comfort of nearly a century of New Englanders. By weight or size a copy of the *princeps* is now about the dearest book on earth. Psalm-books in English, or in Indian, formed, may be, the bulk of indigenous poetic issues, but there were the works of a "Tenth Muse," the amazing verse of Mather, and the lines of the Simple Cobbler, or the solemnities of Wigglesworth, also in many an edition, to Cato's Moral Distiches in 1735.

The range of subjects was from the Day of Doom, to the Whalebone Petticoat, in 1714. If in ability there is nothing Miltonian, there is nothing of the Joe Miller; there is much exalted intention if there is scant humor, there is little that is not worth saving, and work to that end is now being done.

Following Anne Bradstreet and Edward Johnson, and in company with much Psalmody, was *Elegiac Poetry*, comparatively in large amount. The Reverend Cotton Mather tells us of the earliest, in lines "To The Reader," introducing his first work, a Poem on President Oakes of

Harvard. Only one copy of this poem, it may be added, is known to have survived to our time.

“To the Reader,” he says—

“Cotton *Embalms* great Hooker; Norton Him;
And Norton’s *Hearse* do’s Poet-Wilfon trim
With Verses: Mitchel *writes a Poem on*
The Death of Wilfon; and *when Mitchel’s gone*,
Shepard *with fun’ral Lamentations gives*
Honour to Him: and at his *Death receives*
The like from the [like-Marø] Lofty Strain
Of admirable Oakes!”

While enough of our early poetry is uncouth or forced, examples of directness and of grace are not wanting. For instance, Mather in his “Vigilantius,” an Elegy on Seven Young Ministers, wrote —

“First, *What they were not*”—
“*Not who to Pulpits hop Unfledg’d and there*
Talk twice a Week and Preach not once a year.”

or, not in awe of a Poet Laureate he could write —

“*Dryden Sayes, Look the Reformation round,*
No Treatise of Humility is found.
Dryden, Thou Ly’ft”;

like a real poet, he could write on his dead friend Hubbard—

“So has his *After-Beams* the Setting *Sun*;
Tho’ he be *Set*, his Splendor is not gone.”

Again, a President of Harvard, Oakes, writes of his loved friend, the Reverend Thomas Shepard of Charlestown, who died in 1677,—

“If Holy Life, and Deeds of Charity,
If Grace illustrious, and Virtue tri’ed,
If modest Carriage, rare Humility,
Could have brib’d Death, good *Shepard* had not di’ed.”

As might be expected of communities where everyone was busy in labors for a living, and where there was little to inspire or teach in *Art*, it is hard to find anything that could be called a work on the subject. At a period, also, when treatises on *Science* were far less common than they now are, we find few that could be counted in this class.

As early as 1665, however, Samuel Danforth published a Description of a Comet that had appeared in 1664, to which in the fashion of the times, he added a "Theological Application." Earthquakes, as well as comets, at considerably later dates were subjects of no few sermons and essays. Inoculation was treated in at least a dozen pamphlets between 1721 and 1730.

Important subjects not included in the classes already mentioned were also treated, among them *Military Art*. In 1701, appeared Boone's "Military Discipline," enlarged in 1706; and in 1702, a tract on "The Exercise of the Musket." There were other works scattered to the period of the Revolution, when more elaborate treatises were needed and were published.

In 1691, a duodecimo of 24 pages appeared in Boston, entitled "Considerations of Bills of Credit." *Financial Affairs* had attention, and by a dozen years after Witchcraft had been an engrossing subject, they caused not a few publications. In 1714, there were half a dozen, all in Boston. "A Projection for Erecting" a Bank of Credit "Founded on Land Security" was supported by a "Discourse in Explanation thereof." Paul Dudley presented "Objections," Joseph Burrell vindicated the plan from his "Aspersions," as also did Samuel Lynde "& Others," and "one in Boston" added an answer to Burrell. These publications, all small tracts, were followed by many more on Banking and Currency. Mr. Brinley had thirty-one issued between 1714 and 1762. When Part I. of his library was sold in 1879, they brought \$376, — an average of \$12½ each, — a higher value than that of some suggestions which were here and there offered.

Serial Publications, now become so numerous, were begun at a very early date. Massachusetts has one of them so long that we must wait a century before we can be sure that another will be longer. The *Election Sermons*, so called, were preached year by year from a very early

date, and in 1663, the one for that year, the Rev. John Higginson's, was printed. The Rev. John Norton's for 1661, was printed in 1664. With few exceptions, the sermons were delivered every year for more than two centuries, and were also printed. A great number and variety of preachers were represented, and as many subjects of public concern and interest were treated, so that there was a very notable representation of the thought and of the affairs of the State. It would be hard to find another series comparable. Eight or more public or society libraries, and two that are private, contain sets that reach or approach completeness, but hereafter only a young man with a long life before him, probably, will be able to form another set. Names and dates of the earliest *Newspapers* are subjects of debate. In 1690, a small sheet called "Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestic," was issued on September 25th, and has been accorded the distinction of being "the first newspaper in America." Such a bold and inexcusable invention did it appear to be that it was promptly suppressed. Fourteen years passed before another and a more successful attempt was made. Then appeared, April 25, 1704, No. 1, of "The Boston News-Letter," which, under sundry styles or headings, lived seventy-two years, dying at the departure of the British from Boston. Its life and services are narrated by Mr. Thomas in Vol. VI., pp. 7 and 12-27 of the *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*. As late as 1754, he says (p. 8), there "were four newspapers only printed in New England," and "these were all published in Boston." New York seems to have had only half as many. In 1743, appeared, naturally at Boston, "Christian History," that has been called the first religious newspaper in the world. However rivalled, it was certainly very early.

A movement, sometimes considered rather modern, was treated at a rather early date, in a tract by Benjamin Lay,

entitled, "All Slave Keepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage Apostates," published at Philadelphia, 1737, and enlarged in 1738(?). Anti-slavery ideas were finding printed expression.

Observance of *Centennials*, or of great historic events, is also sometimes considered a mark of recent enlightenment. But as soon as time allowed our forefathers to have a centennial it was observed. On the 23d of August, 1730, the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft preached a Century Sermon on his church, the oldest in Boston. Eight years later, the Rev. John Callender delivered an "Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island," *etc.*, "to the end of the first Century." Both of these valuable works were printed in Boston. At later dates, there were discourses on the Rebellion in Scotland, and on the Victories at Louisbourg, Havannah and Quebec.

Bibliography seems to have had, for a long while, scanty attention, and that shown in a few catalogues, which, however, probably give us clear evidence of what was owned and wanted. Titles are apt to be so briefly given that edition or even subject can hardly be determined. It is evident that there were neither people nor means enough to make any considerable "home-market" for native work, or for republications of European books, even if tastes here or interests over sea would allow the latter. Small demands would be better met in price and quality by imported books, as for instance even in the one book for which there was a large demand. The English Bible was a finer and a cheaper volume than any that could have been made here through a long period. But in the primitive times scarcely anyone seems to have cared for what is called literature. Proof is given by early manuscript catalogues, all of which have a certain family likeness. Eliot's library, bought of Thomas Weld in 1651, according to the writer's copy, had two hundred and two volumes (forty-five folios, ninety-five

quartos, sixty-two octavos and smaller.) In these are many Expositions of the Scriptures, much Theology, some Church History, a trace of Classics, and none of English Literature. Another list of about the same date, called a "Cattaloug of bookes * * being tow hundred Bookes * * of mine Thomas Jenner," shows similar qualities and proportions. The Brewster and Harvard libraries would help to confirm opinions that these suggest.

In February, 1685-6, John Dunton, a dealer in books, arrived in Boston from London. He brought a stock for sale, and, with Dr. Palfrey (III., 488), we wish that he had put the invoice on record as "a basis for very interesting considerations" of what was then called for in New England. Instead of it, he, however, gave some account of ladies in Boston. "Mrs. —," he said, "painted herself, but was a good customer. The chief books she bought were Plays and Romances,"—showing that he had brought them. "Mrs. A—— was one of the first that pos'd me in asking for a Book I could not help her to"—it was not one prominent in English literature.

The inventory of Michael Perry, bookseller, Boston, dated 1700, gives clearer evidence of what was wanted. Examining the long and mixed list of publications and stationery, the writer counts 2,504 large or small volumes, besides 1,459 catechisms and 26 "Kallenders." There are 35 Bibles, 4 of them Latin, 1 Hebrew; 11 Testaments, 8 of them Latin; 52 Psalters and 310 Psalm Books. Notably, there were 6 "Common Prayer Books." On other Religious subjects, there were 1,404, or in all, 1,818, three-quarters of the whole number. School-books number 399; miscellaneous, 92. Of the Classics, there were 73 volumes—Juvenal, Lucius Florus, Ovid (in 3 vols.), and Thesaurus Poeticus, 1 each; Ovid's Metamorphoses, 4, and De Tristibus, 5; 7 Virgils; 6 Cicero's Orations, 7 De Officiis, and 8 Epistles; 14 Æsop's Fables; and 18 "Cato's." History was represented by 61 volumes, Navigation by 13, Law by

6, Surveying by 5, Medicine by 4, Husbandry by 3, "Shour of Grace" by 3, "Shour of Earthquakes" by 2, and Astronomy and Gardening by 1 each. Of Heywood's life there were 17 copies, 8 of Vernon's Counting House, and 1 of "Alcibiades and Carolina." "In the Garretts" were 942 copies of other Religious books, many of them in sheets, and all recently published; 450 of Stubbe's "Conscience the best friend" (1699, or 1700),¹ 250 of "Doolittle's Call" (1700?), and of Willard's works, 84 of his "Man of War," 25 of his "Spiritual Desertions," both 1699; and 25 of his Peril of the Times, and 108 on Morality, both 1700. Somewhat obscured among pens, ink, spectacles and copy-books, are "9 packs playing cards." Of the total 4931 copies mentioned, 4245, or over 86%, are religious, less than 2% classics, and none in general English literature, other than "3 Pilgrims Progress with cuts," at one shilling apiece.

The earliest printed catalogue of a private collection is thought to be that of "The Library of The Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee," 4^o, 1693 (Prince Library). Titles, meagrely given, are arranged by classes. In Divinity there are 389 (84 folios, 136 quartos, 83 octavos Latin; 61 quartos, and 25 octavos English.) Of "Phisical Books," all sizes, there are 122; of Philosophy, 64; Geography, 17; of "Mathematical, Astrological and Astronomical," all Latin, 61; History, including Biography and a few travels, 127 in Latin, 45 in English. Under "School Authors," which includes Classics, there are 61; Law, 8, all in Latin; "Miscellanie Beoks," chiefly Divinity and Classics, 326. The total is 1,220. Very few American books or authors are named, and no Milton, Shakespeare or general English literature.

It was not until 1723, that what is thought to be the first printed Catalogue of an American Public Library appeared—Catalogus | Librorum | Bibliothecæ | Collegij Harvard-

¹ Reprint of 1700 in the Society's library.

ini | Quod est | Cantabrigiæ | in | Nova Anglia. | Bostoni Nov-Anglorum : | Typis *B. Green*, Academiæ Typographi." The books are chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and largely theological. American authors have far from full representation. There is an Eliot's Indian Bible, 1663 (p. 44), but no Morton's New England's Memorial, or work of Anne Bradstreet. There are 26 works of Increase Mather, and 9 of Cotton Mather, not including his *Magnalia* of 1702, or some of the now rarest works of each author. Milton is only shown by his "Defensio pro populo Anglicano," 4^o, London, 1651. There are "Shakefpear's Plays," 6 vols. 8^o, London, 1709 (p. 95). Tonson's edition, the next after the Fourth Folio, was published 1709-10, 8^o, the plays in 6 volumes, and another volume with the poems. The library would naturally show the kinds of gifts received, perhaps as much as it showed results of selection.

The Inventory of books that belonged to Major Robert Beverley of Newland, made in 1734, shows what then formed the library of a gentleman in Virginia. So far as the writer can count there were 266 volumes, 39 of which (or 15%) were religious, 41 were literature, including Bacon's *Essays*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *Hudibras*, More's *Utopia*, Pope's *Poems*, and "Beggars's Opera." 63 volumes (25%) were classics, 24 History, 12 Dictionaries, 9 Law, 9 Grammar, 6 Geography. There were 4 Bibles, Greek and Latin Testaments, and English and Greek Prayer Books: 15 might be classed as Mathematics and Sciences. There was a book on Dancing, and another of Music—"a Flute Book." (*Virginia Mag.*, III., 388.)

Charlestown, Massachusetts, would rank among the well inhabited, flourishing seaports of New England. So far as the writer learns, there was no better library in the place before the Revolution, than that of the Rev. Thomas Shepard, who died in 1677, and left it to his son. It was valued at £100, which, as prices then

were, would indicate that there were over 500 volumes.

The only bookseller in the place during the same period, had volumes printed for him for sale at his shop, and probably such as were in paying demand. All that the writer has been able to find were small, and on religious subjects. The only representatives of the modern legion of periodicals were Almanacs. A similar result follows examination of the lists of publications affixed by other early booksellers to works that they issued. A large proportion are on religious subjects, and as even the best of dealers must regard the demands of customers, we can but infer that books of this class were those that were chiefly wanted.

At the close of the Provincial period there was a very exceptional opportunity to show what a large town contained. Charlestown was burned, and the inhabitants were asked to make statements of their losses. Everyone, apparently, complied, and enumerated everything. Much had been removed and saved, but much was destroyed. In the four hundred and eighty-four statements made, about one in ten included books. As several persons mention a Bible, and as this was a volume that might be considered the most valued, we may infer that there was less attention to removal of books than of some other articles, as, for instance, silver, which must have been held in considerable amount, but which appears slightly in the losses. Neither by description nor values is there evidence that anything to be called a library was destroyed. The valuations range from Elizabeth Johnson's "one Booke, 3 s," to Elizabeth Lemmon's "1 Large Bible and sundry Books, £20, old tenor." By far the largest list is that of Thaddeus Mason, sixty-four volumes, about one-third of them religious, ten classics, four that might be called English Literature, and on Anatomy, Gazetteer, Lexicon, Travels, Rhetoric and Witchcraft, one each. Only two volumes seem to be by American authors. Of more value and present interest, it

is probable, were, in addition, "200 Pamphlets * * great Part of 'em valuable," and "Newspapers for 40 years past," the whole then called worth 8 £. 7 s. 4 d.

Apart from this list, few titles are given, and there is little or no trace of general English Literature. There are John Chadwick's "Harvey's Meditations" (5 s. 4 d.), Richard Cary's "Trammels Books in the Garrot," Abigail Stevens's "large Master Book with Cuts" (15 s.), Jas. Bradish Jr.'s "grate Bible" (12 s.), the widow Eeddey's "large bibel," Capt. John Hancock's "Grat Bible," Nicholas Hopping's 2 "Bibls," Nathaniel Rand's "Larg bibill," and Abigail Williams's "Soom Quantay of Books" (£1, 4 s.), but neither Milton nor Shakespeare. They were a free and independent people, and added some proof of the fact by their spelling.

"History" tells us that Dr. Mather's library was, at the same time, lost, but long search and waiting have failed to yield to the writer any evidence that it was. If "History" is right, our Society shows marvellous recreative power by displaying hundreds of his volumes safe and sound.

In regard to the preservation of our early literature we can hardly fail to be impressed by the limited means and disposition to that end which, until of late, existed. There were few private libraries of any great size or scope, and few collectors; differing from England, America had few family homes permanent through generations where collections would, or could, be kept; public libraries hardly existed, collegiate do not appear to have been large or comprehensive, and all were insecurely lodged. Here and there a minister or a layman saved what he, in a small way, gathered. Vague ideas have been held that "old families" had collections, but these seem to have been exceptions. Thoughtless disregard, junk dealers, and women who "clear up things," seem to have been more numerous and active. These, and fires, and removals of many substantial people near the beginning of the Revolution, largely

account for the later rarity of our earlier books, pamphlets and engravings. One of the books or papers that we wish we could read, would contain a detailed story of how, when and where the contents of Mr. Brinley's library were obtained. It was an extraordinary proof of wide and successful search for Americana, and never again can any man show such results.

Through all the period before the Revolution, there appears to have been a Colonial or Provincial literary centre, and at the same place that has been called a literary centre in more recent times, although there have been scoffs at the designation so applied. It may not be possible to be exact to a unit, but we can get certain rather close results. Of poetic works written and printed in British America before 1775, the writer makes out a list of one hundred and twenty-two, of which seventy-nine, or about two-thirds, hail from Boston, while of elegiac poetry, seven-eighths have the same origin and imprint. Of History published during the first eighty years of the American Press even a larger than the latter proportion was Bostonian.

In the art of bookmaking, apart from authorship, the earlier generations in our country could but show their limited resources and skill—scanty and poor indeed if we compare the products with those of only the first printers of Germany, Italy, or even England. In the two former countries the art of printing leaped at once near to perfection, proved by an array of books that, at our best, we have hardly rivalled. Bibles, Classics, Fathers of the Church, Missals, the great poets of the age of revived learning, and many a subject, indeed, were given to the world by the older countries in a style and with a profusion here unknown. Magnificent as were these achievements abroad, they were by no means always due to princely munificence, or public encouragement, but often to the struggles of real and ill-requited genius or enterprise. So

also, to some extent, it may have been with our pioneer authors and printers.

Although the products of our Early Press do not mark the World's Revival of Learning, and a rebirth of civilization, they are monuments of the coming and of the growth of a people already advanced in shaping human history.

Neglected often, at times despised, these simple monuments of a new world's life, have, in latter times, found appreciation such as exists for few others in literature. The rare and scattered remnants will now be kept as they deserve—the precious heirlooms of a continental race. Happy the service and the privilege of those whose lot it is to help save them! Woe to man or woman who harms or who destroys them!

LEGISLATION AND LITIGATION CONNECTED WITH
THE LAND BANK OF 1740.BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

THE Act of Parliament for restraining and preventing several unwarrantable schemes and undertakings in his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America reached Boston in July, 1741. Although the subscribers to the Land Bank might have taken exception to some of the statements made in the preamble to this Act, yet there was no room for doubt that it was specially directed against that Company and that the phrase "sundry other schemes, societies, partnerships, or companies" was introduced to cover the case of the Silver Bank. There is no reason to suppose that Parliament could have had notice that there was under discussion at that very time a plan to establish a local Land Bank in Ipswich, nor that there were other similar propositions in the air. It was on the 27th of March that Wilks wrote:—¹ "A bill has just passed the House of Commons to extend the Act commonly called the Bubble Act, passed in 1720, to the plantations in America," but it was not until April 3, that Edward Eveleth and others, representing the proposed Ipswich Bank, presented a petition to the General Court² setting forth that they had projected a medium of trade by bills of credit which they proposed to emit, and praying for the approbation of the Court.

The subscribers to the Land Bank reluctantly accepted the situation, and took such steps as relieved the Company

¹ Archives, 53, 77.

² Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{2}$, 536.

from possible charge of actively resisting the enforcement of the Act of Parliament. There were many among them who were prepared to continue operations in defiance of the authorities, but the counsel prevailed of those who advised winding up the Company, and measures were taken for the voluntary liquidation of its affairs. The Act which had compelled this proceeding, had, by its terms, rendered null and void every contract made by the Company. Among these, the bills which had been emitted, should, by strict interpretation, have been included, yet every subscriber was made liable for them in the hands of any possessor. It was apparently impossible to enforce any legal process in behalf of the Company, while its obligations were recognized as continuously existing, liability for the same having devolved upon the individual partners.

The notes of the Company, although issued on the basis of six shillings and eight pence an ounce for silver, the then recognized par value of lawful money in the Province, were, by their terms, not redeemable for twenty years, and could then have been satisfied by the Company in produce. It is obvious that these features must have caused them to circulate at a discount from their nominal face value, but just what that discount was can not be determined. Hutchinson is authority for the statement that many of them were obtained by possessors at one-half their expressed value. Their compulsory and immediate redemption at their face value was a hardship upon the subscribers, and it is upon the whole creditable that in the chaotic condition of their affairs caused by the annulment of all their contracts by Act of Parliament, the subscribers themselves were ultimately enabled to draw in a little over ninety-five per cent. of the circulation of the Land Bank. It was evident, however, in the spring of 1742, that they had accomplished about all that they could without aid from the General Court, and that in the adjustment of the various conflicting interests with which they were surrounded,

legislation of some sort was absolutely necessary. When this conclusion was reached, application was made to the General Court for relief.¹

In August, 1741, just after the arrival in the Province of the Act of Parliament, the General Court had taken the matter under consideration, and had carried through to the point of engrossment, "An Act to subject the bonds and Mortgages given by the undertakers and their sureties in the Silver and Manufactory Schemes to the payment of possessors of bills."²

Apparently this bill was abandoned at the intercession of the Land Bank Company, for in the petition for relief referred to above, which was presented in March, 1742, the subscribers express their gratitude that at the request of the same memorialists the General Court had refrained from enacting a bill which was under consideration in September, 1741, which bill was framed in such a manner as tended to distress said Company.

The motives which led to this prolonged attempt to wind up the Company without legislative interference are apparent, as are also the difficulties which compelled the subscribers to solicit the aid of the law-making power. On the one hand, it was almost impossible to legislate with reference to the Company without recognizing contracts which the Act of Parliament declared invalid. On the other hand, it was not easy to procure from the solvent subscribers even their own proportionate contributions towards closing up affairs, not to mention the fact that enough must also be raised to cover delinquencies and losses in trade. The Directors, from the outset, realized that if subscribers would escape persecution, those who were able must pay more than what seemed to be their proportionate share towards the adjustment of affairs, but a committee of

¹ Archives, 59, 326.

Court Records, $\frac{XVII}{3}$, 96, 99.

the partners appointed at the last meeting of the Company to adjust and settle the accounts of the partners, published in October, 1741, in the *News-Letter*, a report to the effect that the Directors had made an excessive assessment and gave their advice to partners as to how much ought to be paid. This committee was composed of three members, and in the March following, two out of three concluded that it was their duty to petition for the legislation necessary to clear up the confusion, for which it is evident that they were in part responsible. Their motives were undoubtedly good in thus advising partners. They believed that the losses in trade were improperly distributed, but it would have been better for all to have hurried through an adjustment of affairs on any terms.

The result of this application in March, was the passage of a resolve April 3 by the General Court for the appointment of a Joint Committee¹ with full power to wind up the affairs of the Company, to pay off its indebtedness, destroy the bills and distribute the proceeds. In this resolve, the outstanding contracts of the Company were practically recognized, and for that reason the Governor withheld his consent. A second resolve, authorizing the appointment of a Committee to examine and report as to the amount of bills outstanding and from whom they were due, so that effectual care might be taken to cause the outstanding notes to be brought in, was passed April 23,² and to the measure in this form the Governor consented. These resolves must be those which are referred to by Shirley under the phrases Order No. 1 and Order No. 2 in his letter to Lord Wilmington, April 30, 1742,³ wherein he says :

. . . the Assembly and Council upon the petition of the worthier part of each of the late Companies pass'd

¹ Archives, 59, 326 *et seq.*

² Archives, 102, 225.

³ Hist. MSS. Com. Report 11, Appendix, Part IV., 292.

one of the enclosed orders No. 1, and the most earnest solicitations have been made to me by the sufferers to give my consent to it; but as the remedy proposed by it is at the bottom founded upon the supposed subsistence of the mutual agreements and contracts made at first between the directors and partners of each of the Companies, which are deem'd and declared by the Act of Parliament to be illegal and void *ab initio*, I could not possibly come into it. But to retrieve the sufferers and preserve the public peace and quiet, so far as was in my power, I form'd and promoted the inclosed order of the General Court, No. 2, which is consistent with the Act, and I understand has considerably alarm'd the deficient partners, and will, I hope, help to make the Act of Parliament have its full effect, and draw in all the outstanding Bills properly.

Two things are to be noted in connection with this first effort at legislation with regard to the Land Bank: first, the attempt to avoid submission to the Privy Council for approval as shown through the adoption of the form of a resolve in preference to an act; and second, the temper of people which made it necessary that Shirley should let something go through in order to preserve the public peace and quiet.

May 27, a petition by Joseph Parmenter and a number of others¹ was presented to the General Court, setting forth that notwithstanding their speedy compliance with the Act of Parliament, their estates were exposed to the demands of possessors of bills, through the wilful neglect of some of the partners to pay in their quotas, that demands had been made upon some of the petitioners for the exchange of large sums of the bills, that proceedings were actually pending against some of them, and that they were exposed to more and greater demands, wherefore they prayed for relief.

From this, it would appear that up to this point popular sympathy for those whom Shirley termed "the sufferers," was powerful enough to protect them against the attacks of

¹ Archives, 102, 243.

speculators. The time had now arrived when this was no longer to be possible. The attitude of the possessors of bills had already been brought to the attention of the General Court, March 17,¹ in a petition in which Nathaniel Martyn and several others asserted that they were possessors of considerable sums of the notes, which had been discredited even before the Act of Parliament and which the partners now refused to redeem. Unless assisted by the General Court the petitioners alleged that they would "be obliged, though with reluctance, to proceed with and augment prosecutions against the said Partners on the said Act in order to acquire their just rights." The petition then goes on to say, that "if they are necessitated to do the same, the conditions and circumstances of the Partners are such as will render it absolutely necessary, and the tenor of the said bills and of the said Act make it very convenient, to prosecute a great number of them, and that without regard to them who have satisfied their directors." The minatory character of this petition foreshadowed what was to take place, and although the possessors would appear to have abstained temporarily from prosecuting their claims, in order that the General Court might signify its intentions in the premises, yet towards the end of May and in the early part of June a number of suits were inaugurated, the name of Nathaniel Martyn, the leader of the petition, figuring conspicuously as plaintiff in the suits.

It is perhaps a measure of the number of these suits that were expected to be brought, that a special blank form of writ was issued, which contained a declaration in a plea of debt based upon the steps taken in the organization of the Land Bank and the issue of the bills.² A number of these bills, the printed declaration alleged, had been received by the plaintiff at the value expressed therein, and neither the defendant nor anybody else would take them from the plaintiff at that value, but they rested in his hands useless,

¹ Archives, 102, 210.

² Suffolk Files, 55,507.

whereof the defendant had notice, and so by the statute in that case provided became chargeable to the plaintiff for the amount named in lawful money with interest from the date of said bills. The writ opened with the ordinary instruction to the sheriff to attach the estate of the defendant, or for want thereof to take his body. At a later date, another form came into use which was a mere summons to the defendant to appear.¹ There were some changes of phraseology, but they were slight.

The petition of Parmenter and others was referred to a Joint Committee and June 30 reports on the condition of the two companies were submitted by John Jeffries.² It appears by the report on the Land Bank there were then outstanding between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds of Land Bank bills, but that the returns were daily coming in. The consideration of this report was postponed to the next session.³

On the 13th of September, 1742,⁴ the directors petitioned the Council for relief, asserting that they had done their utmost to bring in and destroy the bills, but many of the partners obstinately neglected and refused to aid them. They therefore prayed the Board to take such steps as would force the delinquents to comply with the law. The Council thereupon ordered the Attorney-General to prosecute all such delinquent partners as should incur the pains and penalties of *premunire* under the Act of Parliament.⁵ In pursuance of these instructions, John Overing, Attorney-General, proceeded to lodge information against some of the more conspicuous of the delinquents,⁶ and to prosecute them in the Superior Court of Judicature. As a result of these proceedings, he was enabled to bring some of the recalcitrants to terms. Others were able to evade

¹ Suffolk Files, 59,692.

² Archives, 102, 260, 262.

³ Court Records, $\frac{XVII}{3}$, 450.

⁴ Council Records, 10, 657.

⁵ Archives, 102, 264.

⁶ Suffolk Files, 56,660, 56,663, 57,190, 57,526.

service and escape. As a whole, but little was accomplished by the prosecutions.

On the fifteenth of January, 1743, the General Court passed to be enacted a bill entitled an Act for the more speedy finishing the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme.¹ The Governor in his speech on the same day alluded to this act,² saying that while he would be glad to promote the ends aimed at by the bill, it interfered with the Act of Parliament and was of an extraordinary nature. Furthermore, he was obliged to submit all bills for approval before signing, and by its terms this Act might have its entire effect before it could be submitted.

June 18, a second bill, of the same title as the former, passed both houses to be enacted.³ June 25, the Governor stated in his speech, that this bill must lie for consideration till the next meeting,⁴ as he expected to hear from the Lords Commissioners of Trade. September 9, he had heard nothing concerning its fate,⁵ and it is evident that the bill was not approved, for on November 10 another bill bearing the same title passed both houses⁶ to be enacted, and November 12 it was ordered to be published in the *Boston Gazette*.

This act was originally introduced in the house on the 5th of November.⁷ On the 7th, Shirley transmitted a copy to the Lords of Trade.⁸ From the letter which

¹ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{3}$, 611, 617.

² Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{3}$, 621.

³ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 74, 83, 91.

⁴ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 118.

⁵ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 128.

⁶ Province Laws, III., 118, Ch. 17, 1743-44.

⁷ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 195.

⁸ Province Laws, III., 128.

accompanied this copy we can ascertain the objections to the bill of June 18th. It is needless to go into detail in this matter. In a general way it may be said that the objections were that the powers given to the Commissioners to wind up the bank were too arbitrary. The Governor pointed out that though the methods employed were the same, the powers conferred by the new bill upon the Commissioners were curtailed, and the rights of partners were protected by giving them the right of appeal. Possessors of bills still retained all rights conferred by the Act of Parliament.

The bill was divided into eleven sections. In the first, John Jeffries, Samuel Danforth and John Chandler were named as Commissioners, and power was conferred upon them, or any two of them, to order and adjust all the affairs and business necessary for the just and equal finishing of the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme. In the second section, power was given these Commissioners to examine persons under oath, in order to discover concerning the affairs and trade of the Company ; to get possession of books, papers and writings relating to its officers ; to discover its debts and credits, the quantity of bills emitted, and the proportion due from directors and partners for the redemption of outstanding bills. Power to assess partners for their proportion of the bills of the Company was conferred in the third section, and after such assessment had been approved and allowed by the Great and General Court, suit could be brought for the same, or the Commissioners could raise the money by mortgaging in their own names the estate that the partner had originally mortgaged to the Land Bank. To prevent alienations or conveyances of these estates of partners, such estates were declared to be bound and held for the assessments from the day of the publication of the Act to the same extent as if they had been attached in an ordinary suit at law. Power was given the Commissioners in the fourth section to sue debtors of

the Land Bank for money, goods, or effects, due from them to the Company. The fifth section conferred upon the Commissioners power to assess the losses incurred by the Company in trade, and after the assessment had been approved to sue for the same.

The sixth section was an allegation that none of these proceedings should be held to interfere in any way with the rights of possessors of bills to sue partners. By the seventh section, the Commissioners were required to report at the session beginning May, 1744, and any partner who felt aggrieved could appeal to the courts, but to perfect his right to do so was required to file his notice of appeal before that session began. If any question of fact arose between such partner and the Commissioners, provision was made for its trial. All mortgages of lands of partners made by the Commissioners were by the eighth section declared to be good. All suits under this Act were to be brought in the County of Suffolk. As possessors had power to bring suits elsewhere, it was provided in the ninth section that bills lodged in court in such suits should be delivered to the Commissioners. The tenth and eleventh sections relate to allowances to the Commissioners and to the method of filling vacancies in the Commission.

A bill entitled¹an Act in further addition to and explanation of an Act for the more speedy finishing of the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme, was passed in February, 1744,¹ defining more particularly the circumstances under which it was the duty of courts, laid down in the ninth section of the original Act, to forward bills to the Commissioners. This was not to be done unless the judgments of the possessors had received full satisfaction.

On the twelfth of November, after the publication of the Act for finishing the Land Bank, the General Court awarded

¹ Prov. Laws, III., 135, ch. 28, 1743-44.

the Commissioners the "use of the room at the west end of the Court House, in Boston, where the Assessors used to sit."¹

The Commissioners entered upon their duties in November, 1743. It was supposed that they could easily master the affairs of the Company, make their assessments, and report at the May session. The only right of appeal vested by this Act for finishing the Land Bank in the assessed partner, was dependent upon his filing a notice of his intention to contest the decision of the Commissioners prior to the beginning of the May session. It was not until August sixteenth that the Commissioners were able to report that they had made their first assessment, and this was only laid upon thirty-seven of the partners who were totally delinquent. If there was any object in allowing the right of appeal in the original Act, it was essential that the time should be extended, and as it was evident that the time when the Commissioners could make future assessments upon other classes of partners or upon the subscribers as a whole, was indeterminate, it was clear that some change would be required in the act to cover this point for future assessments.

For the foregoing reasons the General Court passed, August 18,² an Act in further addition to and explanation of an Act for the more speedy finishing of the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme. For the assessment of August sixteenth the time for appeals was extended to September 7, and the Commissioners were ordered to publish the list in the four weekly prints called the *Boston Weekly Postboy*, the *Boston Evening Post*, the *Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal*, and the *Boston Weekly Newsletter*. Future assessments were to be published in the same newspapers, and fourteen days after notice by publication were allowed for appeals.

The same day that this Act was published, the General

¹ Archives, 59, 346.

² Prov. Laws, III., 172.

Court by resolve authorized the Commissioners to receive a large amount of bills then in the hands of the late directors of the Land Bank¹ and to destroy them, and they were further authorized to burn such bills as they should from time to time thereafter receive.

November 8 the Commissioners made a second assessment, this time directed against partial delinquents, of whom the names of forty-six appear in the published list. On the fourth of December, Jeffries made a report of his doings to the General Court.²

The Commissioners now settled down to work. Their first efforts were directed against the delinquents. A special blank form of writ was printed containing a declaration adapted to the case of the total delinquents who were assessed on the sixteenth of August.³ The setting up of the Bank by the defendant and many others, the issue of the bills, the abandonment of the scheme, the redemption of their proportionate shares by many of the subscribers and the neglect of others, were alleged in due form. The passage of the Act for finishing the scheme, and the power given the Commissioners under the Act to sue for assessments; the fact that an assessment was laid in August, of which the defendant had paid no part; the further fact that this assessment had been approved by the General Court; the notice by publication in accordance with the Act; the failure of the defendant to give notice of intention to appeal; and finally his failure to pay the assessment when demand upon him was made,—were also formally asserted. The instructions to the sheriff were to summon the defendant to appear.

Another writ was printed containing a declaration

¹ Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 494.

² Court Records, $\frac{\text{XVII}}{4}$, 562.

³ Suffolk Files, 59,480.

adapted to the case of those assessed November eighth.¹ The sheriff was instructed to attach the property of the defendant or arrest his person in a suit at the hands of the Commissioners, appointed pursuant to an Act of the General Court to finish the Land Bank or Manufactory scheme. Then followed an allegation of the responsibility of subscribers to possessors under the Act of Parliament, whereby in equity and according to their mutual covenants, they were severally obliged to pay their ratable parts for the redemption of outstanding bills. The ratable parts of the several subscribers, the Commissioners, under the authority conferred upon them by the General Court, had assessed upon the partners, whereof the defendant was one, on the eighth of November, and in that assessment the defendant was assessed. Notice had been given by publication, report had been made to the General Court, and the proceedings had been approved, and the defendant thereby became chargeable for the assessed sum and had not paid the same.

The number of total delinquents assessed in August was thirty-six, and the number included in the assessment of November was forty-seven. It is evident, from the use of the summons to the defendant in the form for suits under the August assessment, that the Commissioners feared that the bodies of the defendants would be all that the sheriffs could produce in response to instructions to attach and arrest, and that the custody of these would not in their opinion advance the redemption of Land Bank notes.

They, perhaps, hoped for some results from suits against those assessed in November, and waited a little over a year before taking any other steps towards levying assessments. On the 27th of December, 1745, however, they levied a ten per cent. assessment upon all subscribers, including therein those against whom assessments had already been made,

¹ Suffolk Files, 59,757.

and in due course of time thereafter sought to enforce collection of this assessment through the courts.

The first special blank form of writ that appears upon the files in connection with this assessment is addressed directly to the defendant,¹ summoning him to appear, and in the final clause is a statement that his goods have been attached. He is summoned to answer the Commissioners in a plea of debt, the claim being based upon an assessment laid under authority of the General Court, December 27, 1745, against subscribers for their ratable parts for the redemption of outstanding bills. Notice by publication is alleged, and the approval, February 7th, of the assessment by the General Court. Payment of the same, it is stated, has not been made by the defendant.

Another special blank was used which was addressed to the sheriff in the ordinary way, and contained the usual order to attach or arrest.² It contained allegations similar in substance to those of the next preceding form.

During the year 1746, the Commissioners were busy seeking to enforce the collection of their assessment of December, 1745. The tedious nature of the proceedings, and the general resistance which they met with, made the results costly and unproductive. At a later date one of the Commissioners reported that their work at this time tended rather to increase than diminish the debt of the Company.³ To add to their embarrassment, and to increase the confusion of their affairs, their books and papers were burned when the town-house was destroyed by fire in 1747.

It is not strange that we find that the General Court was made uneasy by this condition of affairs. All the original evidence, by means of which subscribers could be held, was gone. An order was introduced in the General Court in September, 1747, for a Joint Committee to consider and

¹ Suffolk Files, 61,673.

² Suffolk Files, 61,673.

³ Danforth's Report, Archives, 104, 324.

report what was necessary to be done for the further relief of those persons who were concerned in the Land Bank scheme,¹ but it does not appear that this Committee ever acted. In April, 1748, the Commissioners were called upon to make a report at the May session.² This they did on the 22d of June,³ stating that they were careful to keep an exact and minute account, not only of the several sums paid in by the partners and of the species in which payments were made, but also of the disbursements for purchasing and drawing in the Company's bills, and of the charges occasioned by the law suits, and otherwise. But as the books and papers containing all their entries and accounts were unhappily consumed with the court-house by fire, and the knowledge of many things transacted, thereby put beyond all possibility of being recovered, and there being no way that they knew of except by sight of the receipts given by the Commissioners to the partners, to ascertain what had been paid, they had given notice to partners to produce their receipts. Not more than one in a hundred had been brought in up to that time. They were therefore incapable of making the report which they were called upon to furnish. A Committee was thereupon appointed to consider the affair.

November 11, 1748, a bill was introduced the purpose of which was to overcome the difficulties in the way of settling the Land Bank, occasioned by the loss of the books and papers of the Commissioners, and January 3 the Governor gave his consent to the bill.⁴ The preamble recites the great difficulties experienced by the Commissioners, more especially those occasioned by the destruction of the books of the Company and of the Commissioners in the late burning of the court-house in Boston.

The first section of the act provides that the Commissioners shall as soon as may be make an assessment on

¹ Court Records, XVIII., 223.

² Court Records, XVIII., 341.

³ Archives, 102, 382.

⁴ Prov. Laws, III. 442, Ch. 16, 1748-9.

those persons mentioned in a list printed in the supplement of the *Boston Gazette*, 1745, which list is declared to contain a true and exact account of the partners in said Land Bank scheme. The assessment was to be adequate to redeem outstanding bills, to make good deficiencies, and to cover expenses. Receipts for payment on the previous assessment should be received as money by the Commissioners *pro tanto*. The assessment was to be printed in the weekly newspapers sixty days before its presentation to the General Court, after which publication the approval of the Court was required. The Commissioners could issue their warrants of distress against partners who failed to pay such assessment within sixty days after approval by the General Court. The form of the warrant of distress was then given.

Sheriffs, coroners and constables were required in section two to execute the warrants, and in section three instruction was given them as to the liability of the estates of deceased persons, who if living and in the province would have been compelled to respond. By section four, the Commissioners were to divide any surplus that they might collect among the partners. Section five provided for meetings of the Commissioners, and section six conferred upon them power to demand and receive papers.

The warrant of distress, which the Commissioners were by this act authorized to issue against delinquents, opened with a recital of the names of the Commissioners and their title. It was addressed to the sheriff, and proceeded to rehearse in detail the authority under which it was issued and the several facts that constituted a technical compliance with the Act, so that the responsibility of the defendant became thereby fixed. It then proceeded to require the officer to levy by distress upon the property of the defendant, giving detailed instructions as to surpluses and redemptions. It was evident that the Commissioners expected through the agency of these warrants to overcome the

obstacles which had hitherto prevented them from closing up the Company. They proceeded therefore in a hopeful mood to make an assessment, and at some time in the year 1749, submitted it to the General Court. The fact that such an assessment was made, appears from a report of one of the Commissioners,¹ who says, that some of the partners not being satisfied with it, prevailed on one branch of the General Assembly to withhold its approval, and the whole assessment thereby became invalid. Apparently no effort was made to substitute any other assessment for the one which failed of approval, and as this approval lay at the basis of all proceedings under the Act, the legislation of 1749 fell to the ground.

During this interval John Colman brought suit against the directors for a large sum, which he alleged to be due him from the Company. He was defeated in the Inferior Court, appealed, and the judgment was affirmed.²

In 1750, a petition of some of the partners was presented to the General Court for consideration. It was doubtless the outcome of this assessment. It was headed by John Brown, and was devoted to an arraignment of the directors of the Land Bank. We first hear of it April 4,³ when the House came up to the Council Chamber, and the hearing was opened in the presence of the whole Court. On the tenth and eleventh of the same month the hearing was concluded in the same manner.⁴ A Committee was then appointed⁵ to consider and report, and on the 11th of October⁶ John Quincy gave in the report of that Committee, which was in effect an order that the Commissioners submit some sort of a report, indicating as best they could the condition of the affairs of the Bank. This report was accepted, and in response to the order

¹ Danforth's Report, Archives, 104, 324.

² Suffolk Files, 66, 842.

³ Court Records, XIX., 152, 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIX., 163, 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIX., 168, 202.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX., 244.

the Commissioners on the 15th of January, 1751,¹ filed an account of the state of affairs of the Company according to their best light. This report was referred to the Committee appointed to consider the petition of John Brown and others. On the 27th,² the House, where evidently was lodged the strength of the petitioners, showed signs of impatience, and voted that this committee be directed to sit forthwith and report as soon as may be. Again, on February 21,³ the House voted that the accounts of the Commissioners, the accounts of the directors as a collective body, and the accounts of delinquent partners, should be referred to a Committee, which should adjust and settle them and report thereon the first day of the next session of the Court. The Council non-concurred, and voted that a conference should be had between the two houses, and that John Quincy should represent the board at the conference. This conference was held the same afternoon, after which the Council adhered to their original vote with amendments and sent it down to the House. Finally, both houses agreed on the 22d⁴ upon a form defining the powers of a Committee to examine the question of the liability of the directors. This Committee was to examine and make strict inquiries into any moneys or other effects that might have been received by the directors of the Land Bank Company jointly and distinct from any money or effects with which they stood charged in their particular accounts. The accounts of the Commissioners were also referred to them, and they were to sit during the recess of the Court. On the 17th of April, 1751, John Wheelwright, in behalf of this Committee, reported,⁵ giving in detail the amounts which were found to be due to the Company from the several directors, which amounts it was said the directors and the heirs of

¹ *Ibid.*, XIX., 257.

² *Ibid.*, XIX., 273.

³ *Ibid.*, XIX., 301, 302.

⁴ Court Records, XIX., 304. Archives, 102, 565.

⁵ Archives, 102, 599. Court Records, XIX., 330.

deceased directors ought forthwith to pay to the Company. The Committee were further of the opinion that the proportionate share of a director for the finishing of the affairs of the Land Bank, was in addition to the foregoing amounts, forty pounds. They recommended the enforcement of assessments already laid, and the levying of another, if necessary. To accomplish this they recommended the passage of a new Act. The report was read, accepted and a Committee appointed, April 19,¹ to bring in a bill to accomplish these purposes. On the 24th such a bill, having been duly enacted, met with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The preamble to this Act recites the assessments of August 21, 1744, November 8, 1744, and December 27, 1745, and their publication.² It states the impossibility of ascertaining the exact sums paid by individual partners, in consequence of the burning of the court-house, in any other way than from evidence to be furnished by the partners themselves; and then goes on in the first section to declare that the partners are held to be liable for the payment of the sums mentioned in the publications of said assessments, unless they can furnish evidence of payment. Six per cent. interest was to be collected on all the assessments, and in order to meet charges caused by the non-payment of assessments, ten per cent. was added to the assessments of August and November, 1744, and five per cent. to that of December, 1745. In section two the directors were declared to be liable for the sums found to be due from them in Wheelwright's report, and the surviving directors and the estates of deceased directors were each assessed forty pounds Land Bank money. By section three these sums were to be paid before August 1, 1751, and if not then paid, the Commissioners were required forthwith to issue their warrants of distress, and

¹ Archives, 102, 600.

² Prov. Laws, III., 551, Ch. 23, 1750-1.

this notwithstanding there might be outstanding unsatisfied judgments of the courts theretofore obtained. The form of the warrant was given. Section four is devoted to the setting forth of the officers who were empowered and required to execute the warrants, and to instructions in case the assessed partners were deceased or out of the province. Three months were allowed for the redemption of real estate.

Under section five the Commissioners were authorized to make further assessments if it should become necessary. Such assessments were to be published, according to section six, in the *Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal*. Sixty days were allowed after publication for voluntary payment, and then the Commissioners were required, unless the assessment had in the meantime been set aside by the General Court, to issue forthwith their warrants of distress.

It is then alleged that in a previous Act the estates of partners were, after the publication of the assessment, held in the same manner as if they had been attached at the suit of a creditor. By the seventh section all lands which were bound by this clause, no matter in whose possession they might then be, were declared to be still subject to the payment of the assessment, and liable to be taken by distress. As soon as the Commissioners should have collected enough to redeem the outstanding bills, they were to give public notice of a time and place at which they would attend to redeem bills. Such public notice was declared to be a legal tender to possessors of bills.

The warrant of distress provided for in this Act was to be issued over the hands and seals of the Commissioners. The form was addressed to the sheriff. It recited the authority conferred in the act itself, and required the sheriff to levy by distress and sale of the estate of the defendant a certain sum, and bring the same to the Commissioners. If no estate could be found, the sheriff was to arrest the defendant and commit him to gaol until the

same should be paid. If real estate was attached three months were allowed for redemption. The return was to be made to the registry of deeds for record.

The Governor had refused consent to the first attempt at legislation directed towards closing the Land Bank, because the Company was too plainly recognized. He had refused consent to the first Act prepared for finishing the Land Bank, because it was too arbitrary. Ten years had elapsed since the arrival of the Act of Parliament, and beyond what had been accomplished by the Company itself, little progress had been made towards closing the affairs of the Company. With the law which was passed in 1751, the Commissioners could easily have wound up the Bank in 1743. It remained to be seen what could be done with such a law now. The Commissioners had a warrant of distress printed,¹ following the phraseology prescribed by the Act, and at once proceeded to test this question.

The delinquents had, however, in many instances taken steps to protect their property as best they could, and they had learned that this hasty legislation was full of flaws. In the country it was difficult to procure service of the warrants, and many of them were returned years after their issue without service.² "He is out of the Province"; "Cannot find estate"; "Dead, insolvent"; "Is dead, sold his estate in season, and was insolvent"; "Never lived in Worcester, but in Woodstock, and no estate can be come at"; "Sold in season, gone to Albany"; "Sold in season, died and left no estate"; and so on, with an occasional "paid formerly" by way of variation, such are the returns made to these warrants of distress.³

In 1752, Sheriff Pollard, of Suffolk County, in a memorial,⁴ addressed to the General Court, stated that as far as lay in his power he had levied the warrants of distress and had exposed the estates for sale, but by reason of a sup-

¹ Suffolk Files, 68,419.

² Report of Danforth, Archives, 104, 324.

³ Suffolk Files, 68,419, *et seq.*

⁴ Archives, 103, 44.

posed defect in the law, which did not in express words enable the sheriff to execute a conveyance with warrantee, those persons who had been inclined to bid at such sales were discouraged from so doing. Whereupon the memorialist felt it to be his duty to lay these facts before the Court.

The Council on the 14th of December, 1752,¹ ordered the appointment of a committee to take the matter of the memorial under consideration and to report a bill. The House non-concurred on the 15th, and ordered the memorial dismissed. On the 23d the House reconsidered this action, concurred with the Council and filled the Committee. January 3, 1753,² the bill was reported to the Council, and passed to be engrossed. April 7, the House ordered the Committee appointed December 23 to prepare a bill as soon as may be.³ On the 9th the Council concurred in this order. On the 12th this Committee was ordered by concurrent vote to sit forthwith and report thereon as soon as may be.⁴

On the 19th of June, a Committee of the General Court was appointed⁵ to inspect and examine the accounts of the Commissioners, and to report at the next sitting of the Court the present state of the accounts and what they judge proper to be done thereon.

December 21, 1753,⁶ an Act in further addition to the several laws in being for the more speedy finishing the Land Bank and Manufactory Scheme was passed by the Council to be engrossed. January 21, 1754,⁷ the House passed an order that a Joint Committee prepare a bill for this purpose, and the Council concurred in this order. April 13,⁸ such a bill was reported in the Council and read a first time. On the 19th it was passed⁹ in concur-

¹ Archives, 103, 44.

² Court Records, XIX., 523.

³ Archives, 103, 99.

⁴ Court Records, XX., 16, 21.

⁵ Archives, 103, 151.

⁶ Court Records, XX., 127.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XX., 177.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XX., 226.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XX., 231.

rence to be engrossed, and the same day the vote was reconsidered and the Council non-concurred. February 19, 1755,¹ the bill was revived, and on the 21st and 22d read a first and second time in the Council, and with an amendment was passed to be engrossed.² On the 25th, the House passed the bill a first, second and third time in concurrence,³ and on the 27th this bill became a law.⁴

The bill opens with the allegation that further provision is necessary to be made with regard to the sale of real estate of delinquents. The first section is retroactive in certain cases, as well as applicable to the future, and provides that if after levy on the real estate of a partner for a sum assessed upon him, the sheriff shall obtain from the register of deeds a certificate that prior to October, 1743, the said partner had not conveyed the estate to any other person, he shall be authorized and empowered after the time allowed for redemptions shall have elapsed to execute a warrantee deed to the purchaser. Section two gave to claimants the right to bring suit within one year from the date of the conveyance by the sheriff, and in the meantime such claimants were barred from any action of trespass or ejectment. Provision was made for the case of absence from the province or the legal incapacity of a claimant.

By the third section, the estates of all partners were made liable for the costs and charges which might arise from such conveyance. By the fourth section, an attested copy of a Land Bank mortgage was made good evidence in any suit upon such mortgage. By section five the powers of Commissioners, conferred by previous legislation, were declared not to be abridged by this Act. The most curious feature of this Act is the recognition of the mortgages given to the Land Bank.

On the 10th of March, 1758,⁵ John Jeffries and Samuel

¹ Archives, 103, 235.

² Court Records, XX., 412, 415.

³ Archives, 103, 307.

⁴ Prov. Laws, III., 802, Ch. 24, 1754-5.

⁵ Court Records, XXII., 249.

Danforth, two of the Commissioners, presented a petition to the General Court for a lottery as the most likely method for the speedy and effectual redemption of the bills still outstanding. This petition was referred to a Joint Committee. On the 18th,¹ this Committee reported that in their judgment it would be expedient to find out more exactly the value of the outstanding bills before taking any new steps towards their redemption. They further recommended that possessors should be required to bring in Land Bank bills to the Commissioners within a limited time; that the Commissioners should be required to mark bills thus submitted, so that they could be distinguished, and then return them to the owners; that a date ought to be fixed, after which it ought to be made a penal offence to pass any of the bills which had not been submitted to the Commissioners; that a lottery at present was undesirable.

The report was accepted and a Committee was appointed to prepare a bill in accordance with its suggestions. Such a bill was introduced and passed, and became a law March 27, 1758.²

Meantime the Commissioners were proceeding as best they could with the work of collecting the sums due from partners and directors. The character of the opposition which they met with is sufficiently indicated in the following extract from the *News-Letter* of August 24, 1758:—

To be sold at Public Auction at the Exchange Tavern in Boston TO-MORROW at NOON The Dwelling-House, Malt-House, and other Buildings, with the Garden and Land adjoining, and the Wharf, Dock and Flatts before the same, being Part of the Estate of the late Samuel Adams Esq. deceas'd, and is situate near Bull-Wharf, at the lower end of Summer-Street in Boston aforesaid, the said Estate being taken by Warrant or Execution under the Hands and Seals of the Honourable Commissioners

¹ Prov. Laws, XXII., 264.

² *Ibid.*, IV., 54, Ch. 28, 1757-8.

for the more speedy finishing the Land-Bank or Manufactory Scheme.

The Plan of the Ground and the Terms of Payment may be known by enquiring of

STEPHEN GREENLEAF.

To Stephen Greenleaf, Esq. ;

Sir,

I observe your Advertisement for the Sale of the Estate of Samuel Adams, Esq. Director of the late Land Bank Company—Your Predecessor Col. Pollard, had the same Affair in Hand five Years before his Death, but with all his Known Firmness of Mind, he never brought the Matter to any Conclusion, and his Precept, I am told, is not returned to this Day.—The Reason was—He, as well as myself, was advis'd, by Gentlemen of the Law, that his Proceeding was illegal and unwarrantable; and therefore he very prudently declined entering so far into this Affair as to subject his own Estate to Danger.—How far your Determination may lead you, you Know better than I.—I would only beg leave, with Freedom, to assure you, that I am advis'd and determined to prosecute in the Law, any Person whomsoever who shall trespass upon that Estate; and remain,

Your humble servant

August 16, 1758.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

In January, 1759, two of the partners, against whom executions had been obtained by possessors, petitioned the General Court for relief.¹ They were George Leonard, of Norton, who had been sued by James Otis, and Benjamin Jacob, of Scituate, who had been sued by Robert Treat Paine. The matter was referred to a Committee.

The examination of the outstanding bills in the hands of "possessors" so-called, revealed the fact that they amounted to less than one thousand pounds. No assessment had been laid, which had been permitted to stand, since December, 1745. The original Commission appointed in 1743 was composed of John Jeffries, Samuel Danforth, and John Chandler. The latter lived in Worcester, and very soon after the organization of the

¹ Archives, 103, 681, 683.

Commission resigned. In the Spring of 1759, Jeffries resigned, and it became necessary to reorganize the Commission. To accomplish this a new act was passed, in the preamble of which the various difficulties which had prevented the Commissioners from closing the affair were rehearsed, and the statement was made that the amount of bills then outstanding was nine hundred and ninety-five pounds.¹

The new Commission was composed of Thomas Goldthwait, Nathaniel Hatch, and Samuel Danforth, who were instructed in Section one to make an assessment of three thousand pounds, on such of the persons whose names were given in the published list in the supplement of the *Boston Gazette*, 1745, then living in the province, as they should judge of ability to pay the assessment. The assessment was to be published, and thirty days after publication was given for payment. Then the Commissioners were to issue executions against the estates of delinquents, and the form of the execution was given.

Section two of the Act was devoted to the redemption of bills. In section three authority was given the Commissioners to call sheriffs to account who neglect to serve warrants. Section four provided for a second assessment upon those whose names were not included in the first assessment. Section five gave the Commissioners power to dispose at private sale of seized estates under certain circumstances. Section six related to sessions of the Commissioners. Section seven was devoted to the protection of sheriffs. Persons who should purchase lands at the sales were debarred from bringing actions for damages against them.

In October, 1759,² the Council passed an order calling on town clerks and assessors to furnish certain information relative to partners, but the House non-concurred.

¹ Prov. Laws, IV., 189, Ch. 20, 1758-59.

² Court Records, XXIII., 60.

January 4, 1760,¹ a number of the directors and partners petitioned for a lottery in aid of the Land Bank, setting forth that the difficulties in the way of a fair adjustment of matters had always been great, and that the various vicissitudes which the Company and the Commissioners had experienced had so complicated affairs that relief of some sort was necessary. This petition was referred to a Committee which reported favorably on the 8th of February,² and submitted a draught of an act authorizing a lottery. The selectmen of the town of Boston were named as managers.

In the preamble to this Act, which was passed February 13, 1760,³ one reason alleged for permitting its passage was that a final period to the affairs of the Land Bank Company might be reached, and a stop put to the frequent applications to the Court in relation thereto, whereby the public affairs of the Province had been greatly interrupted. The managers were authorized to raise thirty-five hundred pounds by one or more lotteries. Details as to the methods of selling the tickets, carrying on the drawings and disposing of the money, were prescribed. The whole thing was to be completed within eighteen months from March 1, 1760. Instructions were given the Commissioners as to the application of the moneys which might be paid over to them by the managers, and they were directed during the term limited for finishing the lottery to forbear issuing any assessment.

The managers proceeded to carry out the lottery as best they could. Lotteries had been a favorite method of raising money for purposes which could not command pecuniary support, but just then were rather heavy on the market. The tickets were divided into three classes, and the drawings were to take place at different periods. As early as June, 1760,⁴ doubts arose whether the work of the

¹ Archives, 103, 439.

² Court Records, XXIII., 221.

³ Prov. Laws, IV., 288, Ch. 25, 1759-60.

⁴ Archives, 104-5. Court Records, XXIII., 393.

managers would not be wasted unless the Company itself could step in at the end and take in its own name the unsold tickets offered for a particular drawing. On the twelfth of June a resolve was introduced in the House, giving the Commissioners the power to take in behalf of the Company, at its risk and for its profit, unsold balances of tickets in the hands of the managers, provided the number of tickets thus taken did not exceed in value the net proceeds of those of the same class which had been sold. This resolve passed the House, and was duly concurred in by the Council.

When the eighteen months given for finishing the lottery had expired, there still remained in the hands of the managers about one-half the tickets of the third class. A resolve was therefore introduced in the House,¹ extending the time for the completion of the lottery for six months from December 1, 1761. This was duly passed, was concurred in by the Council, and consented to by the Governor.

This extension to the time for finishing the lottery expired June 1, 1762. The managers then represented that they still had a number of tickets unsold and that they could not finish the class they then had in hand, unless further time was given them. The first step taken was to pass in concurrence a resolution granting the request of the managers.² This was on the third of June. It evidently occurred to some of those interested that they had permitted the Act to expire before they had passed this resolve. A bill was therefore introduced reviving the former Act, and extending the date for finishing the work until December 1, 1762.³ This became a law June 12.

In the preamble to this Act it is stated that classes one and two had been drawn, and the greater part of the tickets for class three had already been sold.

¹ Court Records, XXIV., 138-9.

² Court Records, XXIV., 399.

³ Prov. Laws, IV., 583, Ch. 11, 1762-63.

On the ninth of September, 1762,¹ the managers again petitioned the General Court. Notwithstanding their best efforts, they still had on hand about thirteen hundred tickets. Under the authority given them the greatest number that they could place to the Company's account was about seven hundred. They must either abandon the proposed drawing or take the risk themselves. The postponement of the drawing would raise a general clamor. It was unreasonable to expect them as individuals to take any risk. They therefore asked for relief.

In response to this petition, it was voted and ordered that the drawing of the third class be postponed until Tuesday, the 28th of September, current.² That in the meantime the managers use their best endeavors to sell the rest of the tickets, and what should then remain unsold should be at the risk and profit of the Company. In case it should result in loss, the Commissioners were authorized "to hire y^e money on Interest to defray such deficiency to enable y^e managers to pay off y^e benefitt tickets." Authority was also given the Commissioners to assess the partners for the sum so deficient.

The lottery ultimately netted the Commissioners the sum £556. 15s. 6d.,³ less than a sixth of the sum authorized to be raised, and not enough to provide for the redemption of the bills. It became the duty of the second Commission to levy an assessment, and to collect the same.

On the eighth of September, 1763, they levied such an assessment on those of the partners living in the Province whom they judged able to pay, and after publication according to the terms of the Act, proceeded to issue their executions in the form prescribed by the Act. A special blank was printed for the purpose following the language of the Act.⁴

¹ Archives, 104, 235.

² Archives, 104, 237.

³ Archives, 104, 452. Report of Edward Sheaffe.

⁴ Suffolk Files, 83,629-1.

The outstanding bills now carried with them over twenty years' interest, and the Company was weighted down with the charges of these tedious and expensive proceedings. The greater part of the first assessment laid by the second Commission was readily collected, but when they proceeded to carry out the instructions given them in the Act and levy a second assessment upon the estates of those omitted in the first assessment, so as to raise money to refund those who had overpaid; to relieve those who had been compelled by possessors to redeem bills; and to defray charges, they experienced the same trouble as that which blocked the way of the assessment in 1749, and the Commissioners found themselves for the time powerless to do more.

June 15, 1764,¹ John Jewell and others, late partners, represented to the General Court, that in 1745 they had been assessed enough to redeem all outstanding bills, after which a lottery was granted, and since then a further assessment had been laid. That they had expected to be reimbursed instead of assessed, and they prayed for representation on a Committee which should examine, audit, and adjust the Commissioners' accounts. The House voted to grant the prayer of the petitioners, but the Senate non-concurred.

March 6, 1765,² Samuel Danforth, in behalf of himself and of the other Commissioners, submitted a narrative account of the various proceedings that had taken place in their efforts to adjust the affairs of the bank, the opposition they had met with, and the effect that it had produced. In the course of this narrative he uses language from which it may be inferred that the first assessment of the second Commission provided money enough to redeem all the outstanding bills. The second assessment was however resisted, and he prayed that the General Court would examine into affairs, make a reasonable allowance for the

¹ Court Records, XXIV., 266.

² Court Records, XXV., 418. Archives, 104, 324.

services of the Commission, and consider whether anything further could be done. This memorial was referred to a Joint Committee, which was afterwards authorized to sit in the recess of the Court and report at the next session.

If there was anything to be learned from the experiences of the Commissioners it was that there was no possibility of collecting the amounts still delinquent upon the assessments of 1744 and 1745. June 21,¹ the Committee apparently asked for more time, and they were then instructed to sit during the recess of the Court and report at the next session, and an order to that effect was passed.

January 30, 1766, the Committee to which Danforth's memorial was referred² reported that large amounts were delinquent on the old assessments, and that it was the first duty of the Commissioners to collect these amounts and also what was found in 1751 to be due from the directors. Meantime the last two assessments ought to be suspended. The Commissioners were also called upon to submit as full and clear a statement of the affairs of the Land Bank as the present circumstances would permit, to the General Court at their May session, 1766. This report was accepted and February 4 a Committee was appointed to bring in a bill according to its terms.

The Committee appointed to draught a bill, submitted its report to the Council February 19.³ Consideration of the same was referred by the House to the next session.

February 21,⁴ it was voted to call upon the several Commissions to finish the Land Bank, to lay before the General Court at the next session, a general statement of its affairs and a particular account of their several charges.

February 26, 1767,⁵ Edward Sheaffe, in behalf of a Committee to which had been referred the examination of the late Land Bank, filed an elaborate report, covering the

¹ Archives, 104, 324, *et seq.*

² Archives, 104, 370.

³ Court Records, XXVI., 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁵ Archives, 104, 452.

history of the winding up of the Bank, and showing the amount which the Commissioners must account for.

The accounts of the first Commissioners were laid before the House, March 4, 1767,¹ and were referred to a committee to consider and report, and next day the order of reference was made to include the reports of both commissions.² [Friday?] March 14,³ the Council proposed to the House to adjourn until Monday and that the Committee on Land Bank affairs should sit forthwith. To this the House agreed. March 17,⁴ the report of the Committee was read in Council and sent down. March 19,⁵ the House voted that a Committee consisting of Capt. Sheaffe and two others and such as the Board might add should be a Committee to sit in the recess of the Court, to examine the accounts of the Commissioners of both commissions, to hear directors and partners, and to report at the May session what they should deem proper as to the accounts, and as to what was necessary to put an end to the scheme. The Council concurred in this resolve and named two members to serve on the Committee.

March 20, 1767,⁶ Danforth and Hatch having resigned and Goldthwait having removed to such a distance that he could not conveniently attend meetings, the two Houses met and chose three Commissioners.

On the same day,⁷ a Committee was appointed by concurrent vote of both Houses, to bring in a bill to empower Edward Sheaffe, Samuel Dexter and James Humphreys, Esquires, who had been chosen Commissioners for settling the Land Bank Company, to execute the trust to which they were appointed. The Committee reported the same day, and the bill became a law. The various powers and duties conferred upon the previous Commissioners were,

¹ Court Records, XXVI., 451.

² *Ibid.*, XXVI., 455.

³ *Ibid.*, XXVI., 486.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVI., 492.

⁵ Archives, 104, 438.

⁶ Court Records, XXVI., 501.

⁷ Archives, 104, 443.

by this Act, extended to the new Commissioners,¹ but until further order of the Court their functions were limited to the collection of assessments already levied. They were from time to time to report progress to the General Court.

The Committee appointed March 19 reported through Thomas Flucker, June 5, 1767.² The substance of this report is that there was £1,740. 7s. 3d. due from the directors to the partners, with interest from September 9, 1740, which the Committee thought should be paid in equal proportion by the surviving Directors, and by the estates of the deceased Directors, allowance being made for what had been paid by the Directors towards the assessment of 1763. In addition to the foregoing, there were certain specific sums which had previously been found to be due from individual Directors, these also were said to be due.

Those sums and what could be collected from delinquents, the Committee were of opinion should be applied in satisfaction of the debts of the Company. They believed it to be impracticable to attempt any relief of partners who believed that they had been unjustly assessed. To accomplish what the Committee advised, they recommended that a new bill be brought in. Consideration of this report was on the 25th of June postponed to the next session.³

In December, 1767, Jeffries and Danforth filed a new account.⁴ In 1751, the Committee of which John Wheelwright was chairman, had made a report, and certain of their findings had been accepted. The Commissioners, therefore abandoning any attempt to make an exact statement prior to the loss of their papers accepted the findings of Wheelwright's committee as final, and filed their accounts covering the period after April, 1751. They prayed that these be accepted, and that they might be discharged.

¹ Province Laws, IV., 919, Ch. 19, 1766-67.

² Archives, 104, 449.

³ Archives, 104, 483.

⁴ Archives, 104, 495.

The reports of the Commissioners specified as follows: one signed Samuel Danforth and Nathaniel Hatch, one signed John Jeffries, and one signed Samuel Danforth, were, on the 5th of January, 1768, referred to a Committee for consideration and report.¹

January 14, the hearing of the partners and directors which was to have taken place by appointment at the previous session, was postponed.² On the 21st, it was again postponed.³ On the 27th, the hearing was held in the Representatives' Room, the Council being there present.⁴ At this hearing, an exception was taken by Mr. Auchmuty to the propriety of the General Court taking cognizance of the matter. The hearing was therefore, on the 28th adjourned to the next week, and Mr. Auchmuty was directed to proceed at that time to apply the rules of law he had advanced to the particular case under consideration. All other parties concerned were, at the same time, entitled to be heard by counsel learned in the law. Mr. Auchmuty was requested to reduce his pleas to the jurisdiction of the Court, to writing, and to file the same in the office of the Secretary.

February 4,⁵ there was an interchange of courtesies between the two Houses. The Council notified the Board that it was ready to join the House in hearing Mr. Auchmuty if he desired to be heard further upon the subject. The House in return inquired of the Council if they had settled the point raised by Mr. Auchmuty as to the jurisdiction of the General Court. The Council replied that they had only settled the point of jurisdiction so far as to be willing to hear Mr. Auchmuty's arguments on that point, if he was desirous of presenting them. The next day, the Board called for the reports on Land Bank affairs,⁶ and the papers which had accompanied them.

¹ Court Records, XXVII., 120.

² Archives, 104, 510.

³ Archives, 104, 515.

⁴ Court Records, XXVII., 162, 163.

⁵ Court Records, XXVII., 179.

⁶ Court Records, XXVII., 180.

The questions which perplexed the General Court may be inferred from the form in which was passed on February 6, a resolve originally introduced on the 3d of February.

The following was the form in which it went through :¹

In the House of Representatives, February 3, 1768.

The House having taken into consideration the plea offered by Robert Auchmuty, Esq., to the jurisdiction of this Court, in the hearing ordered to be had before the whole Court, on Wednesday, the 27th of January last, which hearing was then had before the two Houses only (His Excellency having been prevented being present, by indisposition). Upon the report of a committee of both Houses, the last session, wherein the Committee reported that a Bill be brought in to assess the sum of seventeen hundred and forty pounds $7/3$ with interest from September 9, 1740, on the late Directors of the Land Bank Company as due to the Partners of said Company. The said plea having been duly considered and it appearing that the jurisdiction of this Court, in the case mentioned, hath been already established by sundry Acts of Parliament which have received the Royal sanction, Resolved, that this Court will proceed to a hearing of the said affair, on Tuesday next, the 9th instant, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, upon the merits of the case. And that the parties concerned may then have liberty of being heard by themselves or by counsel learned in the law.

An affidavit was made by George Leonard, February 8,² at the request of Robert Auchmuty, to the effect that in October, 1740, an agreement was circulated among the partners, authorizing the use of a certain proportion of their bills in trade; that he personally declined to participate in the trade. At the same time, Robert Auchmuty openly refused to have anything to do with the trade. That both he and Auchmuty declined to serve upon the committee for the adjustment of the affairs of the Bank. That five of the directors were appointed to receive and burn the bills, whose names he gave to the best of his recollection. Feb-

¹ Archives, 104, 518.

² Archives, 104. 520.

ruary 9,¹ the hearing appointed by the resolve of the 6th took place. Auchmuty claimed that the committee of the General Court in 1751 settled all accounts between the directors and partners² and that the payment by the directors of the balances then found to be due from them must protect them from any further demands on account of said Bank. Until the Court should determine whether this point was sustained, Auchmuty declined to proceed further in his defence.

The Court declined, on the 10th of February,³ to express any opinion upon this point until they should have heard all that Auchmuty had to offer, and appointed the next succeeding Friday at ten o'clock, for a hearing, when the Committee were requested to be present and explain their reasons for finding the sums said to be due from the directors, and when opportunity would be afforded for all concerned to be heard. On the 12th,⁴ the Committee were ordered to reduce to writing the reasons upon which they framed their report, and to serve a copy on Auchmuty. Auchmuty was also ordered to reduce his answer thereto to writing and to lay the same before the Court before Friday, the 19th of February.

On the 20th,⁵ the report of the Committee on the affairs of the Land Bank was read and recommitted.

On the 26th,⁶ the Committee to which the reports of the Commissioners had been referred, reported. A Committee was appointed on the part of the House, March 1,⁷ to take the accounts under consideration, to sit during recess, to hear Commissioners, directors and partners, and to report next session what should be allowed each Commissioner for his services. The Council concurred in this action on the 3d of March, and completed the Committee.

¹ Court Records, XXVII., 185.

² Archives, 104, 523.

³ Archives, 104, 523.

⁴ Archives, 104, 525.

⁵ Court Records, XXVII., 228.

⁶ Archives, 104, 533.

⁷ *Ibid.*

On the 3d of March,¹ an order was passed authorizing the Committee which was appointed February 12, to reduce to writing the facts and reasons upon which they framed their report relative to the Land Bank Company and which had not been able to conclude its work, to prepare the same during recess of the Court, to serve a copy on Robert Auchmuty, so that the directors might make answer at the May session.

There is a report on file² which deals with the question of the liability of the directors and which may be the report of this Committee. It is not dated and is not signed, and its character and purpose can only be identified by its contents.

Under date of June 7,³ the following entry is to be found : —

In Council. The Committee appointed the last session of the General Court to reduce to writing the reasons and evidence upon which their report relative to the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme was founded, and to deliver the same to Robert Auchmuty, Esq., made report of their doings thereon, and thereupon ordered that the same be considered on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and that Robert Auchmuty be notified of this order, that he may then put in a reply thereto if he see cause.

In the House of Representatives, read and concurred.

The foregoing is the last entry in the records of the Court in which the affairs of the Land Bank are under consideration of the legislators. One other entry, made two years thereafter, would indicate that in the interim the whole thing had permanently disappeared. On the 9th of November, 1770,⁴ a petition was presented by Samuel Dexter, James Humphreys and Edward Sheaffe, for certain allowances for services and for expenses incurred by them in the examination of the affairs of the Land Bank in 1766

¹ Archives, 104, 539.

² *Ibid.*, 104, 508.

³ Court Records, XXVII., 321.

⁴ Court Records, XXVIII., 359. Archives, 104, 443.

and 1767. These three men constituted the Commission to finish the Bank, appointed March 20, 1767. The application for pay apparently covers their services as committeemen prior to their appointment as Commissioners, and they ask that the allowance be made out of the public treasury. Among the items included is the bill of Seth Blodget,¹ for rooms, attendance, wine, dinners and punches. The amount consumed by the Committee, when stated in old tenor, is appalling. £57, 18, 9, mainly for drinks, at fifteen sessions of a committee of three, would apparently task the services of the most experienced trencher-men of the day, but this sum when reduced to lawful money dwindles to £7, 14, 6, an amount not after all so great as to tax even modern credulity. The consideration of a portion of this petition was referred to the next session. The habit in that respect was confirmed, and the last record that we have of the Land Bank is that an application for pay for services of a committee investigating its affairs, no longer directed against its funds but this time made upon the public treasury, is to come up at the next session amongst the unfinished business.

¹ Archives, 104, 440.

THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

BY STEPHEN D. PEET.

THERE have been three kinds of explorations in the Mississippi Valley since the discovery, each of which has contributed to a different department of science; the first to geography, the second to ethnology, and the third to archæology. It will take some time for us to give even the briefest review of these explorations, and yet they so join together and dovetail into one another that it seems to be important that they should all be considered together. We shall therefore follow the topical, rather than the chronological order, and shall consider the results which came from the early explorations to the different departments, giving a separate division to each.

I. We begin with the explorations which were conducted in the interests of discovery. It will be noticed that these were conducted by different nationalities and covered different periods, the nationalities generally following the belts of latitude in which the mother country was situated.

Such was the case with the Spanish, French and English,¹

¹ The early maps show the startling effect of the discovery by Columbus upon all the nations of Europe, for voyages across the ocean were conducted by the different nationalities within the space of ten years; by the English under Sebastian Cabot in 1497; by the Portuguese under Ojeda in 1502; by the Spanish under Columbus and others in 1492; and by the French under Verrazano as early as 1503; but it still remains a question which one of the nationalities first reached the mainland and really discovered the continent. The following maps will show the dates of the voyages of the different nationalities along the coast of America, the letters and figures in brackets indicating the pages in Winsor's "Cartier to Frontenac," on which they are found.

"The King's Map." From a Portuguese Mappemonde, 1502 [p. 7]. Ruysch, 1508, entitled Terra Sancte Crucis Sive Mundus Novus [p. 8]. Sylvanus, 1511

though there were circumstances in the later explorations which ultimately brought the nations into conflict with one another. The English,¹ who had made Jamestown Harbor the starting-point in the south and Port Royal on the north, extended their possessions westward and claimed the belt between these two points by right of discovery and purchase. The French, commencing on the St. Lawrence, traversed the chain of the Great Lakes, but moved in a southwest direction, crossing the track of the English at the junction of the Ohio with the Alleghany, and that of the Spanish at the junction of the Arkansas with the Mississippi; finally reaching the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Sabine River.

The Spanish who began exploration in Florida and the Gulf States extended their conquests to the Northwest, and claimed at one time all the territory west of the Mississippi River.²

[p. 11]. Portuguese Chart, 1520 [p. 15]. Verrazano, 1524 [p. 17]. Maiollo, 1527 [p. 19]. Michael Lok, 1532 [p. 20]. Mercator, 1538 [p. 49]. The Cabot Mappemonde, 1544 [p. 44]. Ortelius, 1570 [p. 65]. Judaeis, 1593 [p. 67]. Quadus, 1600 [p. 68]. Hakluyt Martyr, 1587 [p. 72]. The Ottawa Route, 1642 [p. 87]. Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence, 1613 [p. 110]. Visscher, 1652 [p. 178]. Sanson, 1656 [p. 179]. Heylyn's Cosmography, 1656-62 [p. 180]. Blaeu, 1665 [p. 182]. Creuxius, 1660 [p. 184]. Ogilby, 1670 [p. 210]. Duvals, 1682 [p. 216].

This atlas served to keep up the notion that the Ottawa and not the Niagara conducted the waters of Lake Erie to the sea.

¹The English under the Cabots were seeking to rival the Spaniards in their discovery. They made their land-fall in 1497 in the neighborhood of New Foundland. They also discovered at the North a gulf supposed to correspond with the Mexican gulf at the South, and here found an expanse of water which had already coursed another great continental valley, and by which it was practicable to go a long distance towards the interior.

²It is supposed that Ojeda, the Portuguese, visited Venezuela and Brazil in 1492; and the navigator Cortereal reached the coast of New England in 1501, for there is a globe which represents the name Terra Corterealis above the St. Lawrence, and near it the date "Anno Christi, 1501."

The Cantino map described by M. Harrissee shows that the Portuguese sailed the whole length of the Eastern coast of North America as early as 1502, for on it the coast of Greenland, New Foundland, Florida, and the West coast of Gulf of Mexico are well depicted.

"On the King map," "Terra Laboratoris" and "Terra Cortereal" are close together, showing that the Portuguese reached this point as early as 1502.

It is remarkable that nearly all the information which we have about the interior and the Indian tribes there, during the first two hundred years, is from the historians of different nationalities, and is contained in books printed in different languages. To illustrate, our history of the southern tribes, those between the Gulf coast and the Appalachian Mountains, is written in Spanish; that of the tribes of the Middle States,—Powhatans, Cherokees, and Algonquins,—is contained in English books; that of the northern tribes,—Hurons, Athapascans, Algonquins and Sioux, including the Dakotas,—in French books. The later history of the Iroquois and the tribes of the interior was written both by English and French, the Jesuit relations containing the largest portion of the record.

Still, there are cross-lights; for while the volume by Cabeça de Vaca and that by Garcilasso de la Vega, and the Portuguese Narrative are still relied upon as giving the best picture of the southern tribes, the writings of De Bry and the paintings of the artist Wyeth bring before us a picture of the tribes who are situated on the sea-coast of Florida and South Carolina. The maps of Verrazano, the Spaniard, bring before us a picture of the tribes on the coast of Maine. The writings of Champlain furnish a picture of the Iroquois. Taking the reports by different nationalities we have an excellent account of the early condition of the various tribes, and are interested very much in the descriptions of them. The picture moves before us like a panorama. As the different expeditions are taken into the interior one portion after another of our noble continent is brought to view, making us feel as enthusiastic and exhilarated by the vision as were the discoverers themselves, producing upon us the same impression that the reading of the letters did upon the minds of the Europeans at the time. Each part of the picture brings before us new scenes, new costumes and new surroundings, and new adventures. We listen and

we catch even the sounds of new languages, and find that there are new grammatical constructions.

We are indebted to the explorers and travellers who wrote descriptions which were so vivid and gave vocabularies which are so correct. We can bear with the exaggerations and deceptions of some of them, who wrote of voyages into regions which they never reached. If the "long river" of Lahontan has never been identified, and the voyage of Hennepin to the mouth of the Mississippi has proved to be a deception, the descriptions of Charlevoix, Marquette, Joliet and La Salle, and the various missionaries are still resorted to for information about the Indians of the interior.

There was to be sure a great difference between the tribes, in moral character, grade of civilization, and modes of life; for those of the South were mild, peaceful, given to agricultural employments, sedentary in their habits, and somewhat advanced in their grade of civilization; those of the Northern States were mainly hunters, who made their long voyages in canoes from the distant regions of the west, and sought to barter their furs for the commodities brought to them from Europe. Those of the far West were nomads, who followed the buffalo across the prairies, and the elk and moose to the mountains, changing the location of the villages according to the seasons. Those of the East, especially the Iroquois, which were then situated in the State of New York, were the most warlike of all the tribes. These were the worst foes which the Indians of the interior had at the time, and they filled all the tribes of the North with great terror. Their history is a tale of horrors from beginning to end. Our souls are stirred with indignation that human beings should be given to such unearthly and demoniac passions. But we are, at the same time, full of admiration at the fortitude and sublime faith of the missionaries who endured so much at their hands.

The story of the first century reads like a romance, for we follow the explorers through the Southern States and across the flowing rivers. But in the second the forests of the north are full of tragedy. It is like turning from Homer to Æschylus, from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from the days of Warren Hastings to the terrible tragedies under General Havelock, from the days of Admiral Coligny to the deeds of Robespierre. The cruelty of the savage Iroquois was greater, and the sufferings of their victims more intense, than had ever been recorded. These turn the history which began with peaceful conquests, interesting adventures and important discoveries, into a record of cruel slaughter, base treachery, and appalling torments. Treachery, however, was not confined to the hearts of the savages, for the ill-fated La Salle, after enduring all the discouragement and defeat which the deceit and treachery of his enemies could bring upon him, finally perished at the hands of his own followers, and his body was left to rot in a nameless grave amid the wild scenes on the Sabine River. His fleet was destroyed, his army scattered, and only the faithful friend, Tonty, with the iron hand, was left to tell the story of his tragic end.

The result of these early explorations and voyages was, as we have said, to increase the knowledge of the geographical features of the continent, both in its contour and interior. A general acquaintance with the Indian tribes was also gained, and especially those situated along the sea-coast and near the rivers, for it was by voyaging, either in sail vessels or in canoes, that explorers, traders, and missionaries made their distant expeditions. It would be interesting to follow up the routes taken by the different parties and quote the descriptions of the scenes through which they passed, for by these means we should realize what their first impressions were. It may be said, however, that the explorers who waded through the immense swamps, threaded the dense forests, and crossed many waste places,

were not so much interested in the natural scenery as they were in escaping the danger which lurked everywhere. The forests were high and the rivers were large, and everything was new and strange, yet the adventurers had been through scenes that were grander and forests that were wilder than these. While there were large fields of maize from which provisions for the men and horses could be foraged, yet the villages were palisaded and were to be taken after much conflict and bloodshed. They were told that there was gold among the mountains, and they turned aside from their route to reach them. It was there that the queen of the forest came forth in her canopied canoe. After that there were many rivers to be crossed, and new means of crossing them must be devised. The most notable event was that the greatest river of all, the noble Mississippi, furnished a burial-place for their leader, the renowned De Soto, whose name is known to history but affixed to no important stream, or city, or province. Even in the later explorations, when the Northern regions were to be traversed, the scenery came before the voyagers by slow degrees. The great rivers were open to their vessels and the smaller rivers to their canoes; but the cataract which is one of the wonders of the world at first escaped notice. It was known only by the reports which came from the savages. Though its roar was heard in the distance they did not turn aside from their path to visit it. The chain of the Great Lakes ¹

¹ A map in the *Marine* at Paris [1642] has the different nationalities as stretched along the coast in the following order: "Cap Breton," "L'acadia," "Nouvelle Angle Terra," "Lan Hollande," "Lan Suede," "La Virginie," "La Floride." On this map are the St. Lawrence River, "Lac Champlain," "Lac Ontario," "Lac Erie," "Lac des Hurons," "Lac Supérieur," and two small lakes near "Lac Francois" and "Lac Louis" adjoining the mouth of the Ottawa River. It represents the Ottawa Route. This is one of the earliest maps that gives the chain of the Great Lakes or any approach to the Mississippi Valley.

Sanson's map, 1656, represents the Northern part of the Mississippi Valley. In it the lakes are tolerably correct, but the Mississippi River and the Ohio are not laid down. A river flows North into Lac Des Puans or Green Bay. Heylyn's cosmography, 1656, represents the Mexican Gulf with several rivers flowing into it. But a single lake said to be three hundred miles long and a single river flowing into the St. Lawrence in place of the chain of Great Lakes.

stretched from the deep interior to the sea, connecting the head-waters of the Mississippi with the mouth of the St. Lawrence with a single chasm to break the chain, but it was link by link that it became known, and even then portions were supposed to be disconnected, the impression having been formed that the outlet was by the Ottawa River rather than by the Niagara, and that Lake Erie flowed north and west and not toward the Falls. Not until the time when the ill-fated La Salle launched his famous vessel, the *Griffon*, on the river above the Falls and began his long voyage to the land of firs and forests, did the full sense of the length and breadth of the inland seas come before his mind. Not until after suffering the great loss caused by the wreck of the famous vessel and the blasting of his hopes, did he begin to realize that its boundless shores could be a hiding-place for his enemies, and that their treachery could follow him to the remotest villages of the Indians. These waters which are so restless and majestic in their sweeping currents were not grander than the spirit of the great explorer who first traversed them. It requires a comprehensive view such as can be gained by the rapid passage in modern times to get a full sense of the majesty of these great Lakes and the wonders of the regions through which they flow. The work of tracing the routes which were followed and identifying the places where they stopped, remains for those who admire their exploits and cherish their memories. There were anticipations which nerved the first explorers. Rumors came to them that there were rivers which led to the South Seas, and it was a constant hope with the travellers that by some means they might cross the barriers of land and mountain and reach the farther India, which was the object of search with Columbus, the first discoverer. It took a long time for the mistaken notion that America was only a part of Asia to pass away.¹ The fact that it was a continent by

¹ A globe made by Franciscus Monachus, 1526, unmistakably represents N.

itself gradually dawned upon the mind, and then the valley became the most prominent part of the continent.¹ There were, to be sure, rivers which were remote from the chosen routes, and large forests which were not visited by the explorers, and numerous villages of which nothing was known until nearly three hundred years after the discovery. We refer now to the forests along the Ohio River and the Cumberland Valley, which afterward proved to be so rich in aboriginal remains, showing that it was once filled with a teeming population, and abounded with villages which were advanced in their type of architecture and art. The Ohio River flowed through this region, and yet, for nearly two hundred and fifty years very little was written concerning it or its resources; in fact, the veil of obscurity is scarcely drawn until the time of the settlement under Boone, Harrod, and other hardy adventurers. We read about the conquests of Mexico and Peru under the Spaniards with great interest. We follow the route taken by Coronado in 1536 to the north of Mexico into New Mexico and Colorado, and learn about the famous cities of Cibola.

America as part of Asia [See "Cartier to Frontenac" p. 22]. Mr. Winsor remarks that it is thought Ruysch used Columbus's drafts. These two maps show the ignorance as to the American coast, and perpetuate the error into which Columbus fell at the beginning, and which he never corrected in his life—that America was an extension of Asia. There is on Ruysch's map the island of Java, which is one of the East Indies; but it is in the same ocean with the island of Hayti, which is one of the West Indies.

The map of Maiollo, 1527, represents "Francesca" along the New England coast, "Tera Florida" on the Gulf of Mexico. "Terra Nova descoberta per Christofaro Columbo" in the neighborhood of Venezuela, and "Spagnolla" on the island of Hayti.

The "Sea of Verrazano" appears on all of the early maps from 1524 to 1582, including one by Verrazano, 1524, Maiollo, 1527, Michael Lok, 1582, sometimes called "Mare Indicum," and sometimes called "Mare de Verazana." It occupies the same place as the Mississippi Valley.

¹ *Ortelius's* map, 1570, is one of the earliest to give the continent of America correctly. On this map the title, "America Sive India Nova," stretches across the northern part of the continent, and "Nova Francia" appears above the St. Lawrence, "Florida" in its proper place, "Hispania" across Mexico, "Quivira" on the Northwest coast, "Chilaga" in the neighborhood of Lake Superior, but Peru and Brazil in their proper place, "Caribana" on the northern coast of S. America.

We even pass over the mountains and enter the prairies of the far West, and get a glimpse of that mysterious region called Quivira. We pass up the Ottawa River with the Jesuit missionaries and reach the head-waters of Lake Superior, cross to the St. Croix River and visit St. Anthony's Falls. We go down the Mississippi River to its mouth and learn about the people situated on either bank. But that region which had been drained by the beautiful Ohio and its branches, remained *terra incognita*. Even up to the time when Washington visited the head-waters of the river, and passed up to Presque Isle on the shores of Lake Erie, this was ever debatable ground, claimed by different tribes of Indians and yet coveted by the white men.¹ We know next to nothing of the changes which took place or even of the trade which was conducted with the native population, and archaeologists are accordingly at a loss to explain certain things which have come to light in modern times, and which some think were produced by the natives after they had had contact with the whites. The supposition is that there were Spanish miners in the mountains of North Carolina, as there were French miners on the south shore of Lake Superior. But it is difficult to distinguish between the metal relics which may have been manufactured by white men and traded to the Indians, from those which were of purely aboriginal origin. Copper relics have been exhumed from mounds in the very heart of the State of Ohio which seemed to bear the impress of the white man's touch; but the difficulty is to trace the history of these regions of the interior so as to know how early trading-stations were established, and how soon the Indians began to use the articles manufactured by the white man. The southern shore of Lake Erie was also

¹ One reason for the ignorance of the Ohio River was that the original inhabitants had been driven out by the Iroquois in the period which elapsed between the discovery by Columbus and the exploration by La Salle. The Iroquois were friendly to the English and hostile to the French, and so kept the French explorers from this region.

to remain little known for a long time. The terror of the Iroquois had made it an unattractive wilderness, and no one dared follow the footsteps of La Salle athwart the region. The French had constructed a stockade at Ouitanon on the north bank of the Wabash, but had not dared to establish a single post east of the Maumee, for the Confederates were still holding the region between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, this region having been derelict since the time of the destruction of the Eries in 1650.

II. There are also Ethnological problems which are to be solved by the history of exploration in the Mississippi Valley. We have not time to mention all of the problems, but will only state that it was through these explorations that the location of the different tribes came to be known and their affinities were discovered. It appears that there were several great stocks scattered over the Mississippi Valley, dividing it into districts, which can now be easily traced by certain definite lines, thus making a linguistic map out of the very geographical territory which had been traversed. This map has been a varying one, for the tribes have changed their location with every successive period of American history. Still the tribes continued to cluster into the same groups, for the different stocks as they change their territory were massed together and were settled down in the great provinces, which became afterward States, the boundaries of these States having been formed long before the date of history.

We go to the maps for our knowledge of all the changes which took place whether among the Indian tribes or among the European claimants. The maps are, to be sure, covered with names and with inscriptions which reveal the struggles for possession among the different European nationalities, but they are also covered with Indian names which reveal to us the location of Indian tribes and villages. They do not seem like maps of America, but rather like the maps of some foreign country; for they are printed in different

languages,—English, Dutch, French and Spanish,—with the Indian names and the names of the rivers all spelt differently. What is more, the territory of the Indian tribes varies according to the European nationality which made the map. The English, who claimed the Iroquois for their allies, extended the Iroquois territory from the mouth of the Mohawk on the Hudson River to the mouth of the Ohio, and even down the Mississippi as far as the Gulf of Mexico ;¹

dotted line. This is one of the earliest maps to represent the Mississippi Valley, and evidently came from the explorations by La Salle. Still Joliet's larger map, 1674, contains the lakes, the upper part of the Mississippi River, the rive de Misconsing, riv de la Divine [Illinois] ; also a river supposed to be the Ohio, on which is the inscription : *Riviere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique*. Such are the maps which show the gradual acquaintance with the Mississippi Valley which resulted from the various explorations.

¹ There is some reason to suppose from Sanson's map that the Maumee had been explored as early as 1650. In 1714, Crozat's agents found mines in south-eastern Missouri, and got their supplies from the Illinois country. De la Tour sent explorers four hundred miles up the Alabama above the Coosa and Tallapoosa, who established a fort called Fort Toulouse. Crozat's agents built a storehouse near Nashville, on a mound, where they traded with the Shawnees, A party left Kaskaskia in 1703 to explore the Missouri ; and in 1705 some miners built a fort on the Missouri above the Osage.

Mitchell, the geographer, claimed that the Six Nations extended their territory to the river Illinois ever since 1672, and had incorporated the ancient Shawnees and the Chaouanons, besides which they exercised a right of conquest over the Illinois and the Mississippi as far as they extended. (*Ibid.*, p. 237.)

In Coxe's Carolina we have a description of the territory on either side of the Mississippi River from the mouth to St. Paul, with the resources of the country pretty clearly described, the object of the book being to encourage English trade with the tribes situated in the region. We find a description of the region on the Cumberland River.

But the Foxes, who had been overthrown at Detroit, were soon waylaying the French traders at the Green Bay portage. The Fox and Wisconsin Rivers had been well-nigh deserted, but the older portages by the Maumee and Wabash had come into use, and Vincennes was a recognized station. (*Ibid.*, p. 118.)

The portages south of the Chicago River, by way of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines, and by the St. Joseph River, were kept open. Charlevoix went by St. Joseph and Kankakee to the south. The Miami confederacy, situated upon the Wabash, had put 3,000 warriors into the field as a check upon the Iroquois. (*Ibid.*, p. 26.)

The Jesuits were among the Illinois tribes as early as 1680, and the Carmelites and Capuchins among the tribes from Alabama to the Red River as far north as Natchez. The Mississippi became the great highway of the church. Iberville had established a settlement at Natchez called Rosalie ; but Bienville, his brother, led an expedition against two villages of the Natchez in 1723, and

The Indian names are applied to rivers, lakes, waterfalls, and natural scenery, some of which have been retained and are very euphonious and suggestive. Ontario, Huron, Michigan being the names of lakes; Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, being the names of rivers; Omaha, Milwaukee, Kishwaukee, being Indian names applied to villages or cities.

We notice here the difference in the names given by European explorers, for the missionaries applied the names of their saints, while the traders gave only the names of their own heroes and leaders. In this way we have St. Paul, St. Louis, St. Marie, and St. Croix in different localities; but in others we read the names of Duluth, La Salle, Marquette, and Nicolet. The English generally gave the names of their kings and queens to the colonies on the sea-coast, but allowed Indian names to be retained by the mountains and rivers of the interior. The names of States, later on, were taken from the tribes who were supposed to have occupied and possessed them from time immemorial.

We are gaining in various ways a knowledge of the aboriginal trade¹ during this period, and more especially by

¹ There had been an intermittent trade carried on with them for three-quarters of a century. New York was already pressing her claims over the remote regions beyond the forks of the Alleghanies. She held that the parliamentary acts of 1624 had made this region crown lands. The Delawares had begun to follow the game over the mountains, and the Pennsylvania pack-men were not far behind; though they encountered the Frenchmen on the Alleghanies.

Charlevoix spent a month in Kaskaskia, October and November, 1721. In passing down the river, he saw the vast meadows covered with herds of buffalo. He passed Fort Chartres (which was founded in 1720), and remarked how the increasing settlements between the Fort and Kaskaskia were beginning to look like a continuous village.

The French built a fort at the mouth of the Arkansas to protect the line of communication between New Orleans and Kaskaskia. A crowd of palisaded cabins soon sprang up on the spot where Joutel, escaping from the assassins of La Salle, had come so happily upon some of Tonty's men.

The Jesuits were among the tribes of the Illinois. The Iroquois were a barrier of defence between the English, in Maryland and Virginia, and the French, and had prevented them from making a descent that way. In 1701, the Lieut.-Governor of New York entered into a treaty with the Confederates at Albany, by which the region north of the Ohio and stretching to the Illinois River was

the study of the relics which are being exhumed from time to time. It is by this means, and by the study of journeys and trading-expeditions which are not prominent, that certain tribes who dwelt in the interior have become known. To illustrate: Relics have been discovered during the last year at Willoughby, Ohio, and have been placed in the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, which help to solve the problem as to the Eries, who were blotted out by the Iroquois. These relics are composed of pipes, pottery, and bone needles, and resemble those which are found on the Iroquois territory. The portraits on the pipes resemble Iroquois faces. This proves that the Eries¹ belonged to the same stock as the Iroquois, and corresponds with the tradition that they were destroyed by that

ceeded to the English king. (*See Winsor's M. B.*, p. 67.) From this time on trading-posts were established in Ohio mainly by the English. Still it was in dispute until after the French and Indian war. There is a map contained in Winsor's "The Mississippi Basin," page 242, which gives the location of the trading-stations and Indian trails as well as forts. In this the names are expressive. Names are as follows: Logstown near Fort Du Quesne, Three-legs on the Muskingum River, White-woman's on the Licking, French Margarets on the Hocking, Hurricane Toms on the Scioto, Junundat on the Sandusky, built in 1754.

The Mascoutens and Kickapoos, in 1726, put a stop to the Green Bay portage. De Lignery succeeded in bringing the Foxes to a peace, and they agreed to spare as allies of the French, the Illinois. Father Guignas and Boucher de la Perriere built a stockade on Lake Pepin, and called it Fort Beauharnois. It was the first settlement on the Mississippi north of the Illinois.

The Carolina traders had put up two booths on the Wabash, and rumors reached Kaskaskia that other stations had been established further up the Ohio. The English were haunting the upper waters of the Wabash and trading among the Miamis. M. Vincennes, who was among the Miamis, was prepared to repel the English if they approached. The country of Illinois was added to Louisiana in 1717. The waning power of the Iroquois, and the coming of the Delawares and the Shawnees into the Ohio Valley, had permitted the French to conduct more extensive explorations. (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)

¹ As to the location of the Eries the two maps given with this paper are suggestive; namely, the map of Dr. Smith, 1720, and the map of Vander Aa, 1750. On both of these maps the Oniasontke or Nation du Chat are placed on the Ohio River, a little below Lake Erie, which was formerly called Lae de Fells or du Chat.

cruel and aggressive people.¹ We must go far back of the period when the Jesuit missionaries were among the Hurons, to find the time when the Hurons, Eries, and Iroquois were at peace with one another and filled the entire region from the St. Lawrence to the St. Clair Rivers, and occupied both sides of the two great lakes,—Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. At that time the Algonquins were divided into four parts. Those in New England on the east, the Delawares and Powhatans on the south, the Miamis and Illinois on the west, the Ojibways and Athapascans on the

“ Dr. James Smith's map 1720, gives the natural features correctly; the lakes, the rivers, the gulf coast, and the sea coast. It also gives the Indian tribes as they were located at this time.” The Oniasontke or Nation du Chat on the Ohio River; the “ Tionontatecaga who inhabit in caves to defend themselves from the great heat,” on the Tennessee, villages of the Chicachas, villages of the Shawnees [Chaouenons] and also of the Taogarias, villages of the Caskinampos [the Caskighe] on the Cumberland; villages of the Chaouenons on the Santee River. The Cherokees [Chalague] and the Apalachians [Apalache] on the Apalache River villages of the Choctaws [Chactas] or Flat Head Indians; also village of Chicachas on the head waters of the Mobile; villages of the Natchez, also of the Colapissas and the Taensa, on the Lower Mississippi; village of Tamoroa and of the Illinois and Kahokia near the mouth of the Missouri River; the Kicapon on the Illinois River, the Mascoutens on the Rock River, the Miamis on Miami River, the Osages on Osage River and an inscription on the Illinois as follows: “The Matigamea formerly lived here.” Another inscription on the Tennessee River, is as follows: “The road the French take to go to Carolina.” This map and the following one indicate the state of the country the location of the Indian villages at the time of the first permanent settlement of the Mississippi Valley.

¹ The map based on d'Anville, published by Vander Aa, 1755, contains the long river of La Hontan, near it a river supposed to flow to the West Sea. It also gives the five Great Lakes under their present names; the Ohio River under the name Oubache; the Mississippi and Missouri and Illinois under their present names. It represents the location of the Indian tribes as they were at this time. The Ottawas [or Outaouacs] on both sides of Lake Superior. The Sioux at the head waters of the Mississippi. The Foxes, or Nation des Renards, on the Wisconsin River; The Nation du Feu, or Kickapoos, west of Lake Michigan; The Miamis, south of the lake; The Illinois on the Illinois River; villages of the Michigamias [Matigamea] below the Illinois. Village Des Sauteurs near Saint St. Marie, the Mississague above Lake Huron, the Nation Du Chat, south of Lake Erie, the Andastogues on the Alleghany River, and a tribe called Les Oniasontke on the upper Ohio River, and the Iroquois just below the Lake Ontario. There are two forts on the map; fort de Sasquahamong on the Susquehanna River and fort St. Louis called fort Creve Cœur on the Illinois River.

north. The great Dakota tribe, called the Sioux, were situated to the west of the Mississippi River and occupied the States which have since borne their name; the Iowas being but a tribe of the Dakotas, and the Missouris, Kaws, or Kansas, constituting a branch of the same stock.

The exploration of this entire region revealed the location of the various tribes or families of Indians which were the first possessors of the soil, but this is a chapter of our history of which we know but little. The names of the Indian tribes have fortunately been given to the States which have been hewn out of the Northwest Territory; Algonquin names having been affixed to the States east of the Mississippi, the Dakota names to those west of the Mississippi, and the names of other tribes to those that were farther west and south.

There were great changes among them before the time of the discovery and the settlement by the whites. There was, however, one tribe which was constantly on the move,—the fickle wanderers called Shawnees. The evidence is that they were Algonquins, and at an early date they passed down from the north through Illinois into Kentucky and Tennessee, and across the Cumberland Mountains to the coast of Florida and South Carolina, where they came in contact with tribes of the Dakotas and of the Iroquois who had branched off from the parent stock during the time of the prehistoric migrations, and finally reached their stopping-place in the southeast corner of the mountain region. The Shawnees turned this corner, and began wandering north until they reached the Delawares on the Delaware River. Joining with them they turned back toward their old seats, and are found again in the opening of history on the Ohio River. The Shawnees have left their names on certain rivers and trading-posts in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, South Carolina, and even in Wisconsin. But they have made great havoc with the records of other tribes, and have brought terrible confusion into the archæ-

ology of the entire region. Their wanderings cover a period of two hundred years, the most of them after the date of discovery. And yet, so little is known of them, that it is almost impossible to say to a certainty what relics were left and what mounds, if any, were built by them.

The stone graves near Nashville and the stone graves found in the Etowah mound, also stone graves in Ohio and Illinois, have been ascribed to them; but the relics found in these different States are as different as those which belong to different nationalities, and so the archaeological record is very confused. The same uncertainty exists in reference to the Cherokees.¹ They are supposed to be the Alligheewis of tradition. The story is, that the Iroquois and the Delawares migrated late in the prehistoric period from the north or from the west. They crossed a great river, and finally united in the effort to expel the Alligheewis, who dwelt in fortified cities or towns and were permanently established. After long contests they drove them from their seats, and took possession of their territory. This is the record which has gone into history. It is not tradition merely, but it is history. The explorers have not been able to identify exactly the river that was crossed, nor tell where the contest occurred, or even decide where the walled towns were situated, though the supposition is that southern Ohio is the place where they dwelt. It is on this supposition that Dr. Thomas has based his theory that they

¹There were changes in the location of the Cherokees between the times of the discovery and the explorations of the Ohio Valley, but the first record of the tribe locates them among the mountains of North and South Carolina. There were also changes, according to tradition, among the Dakotas, but the date is supposed to have been before the discovery. The Ohio River seemed to have been the migration route for the Indian tribes, though it is uncertain as to the starting-point of some of the tribes, for the first that is known of the Dakotas or Sioux is that they were situated east of the Alleghanies on the Ohio River and were moving westward. The first that is known of the Iroquois they were on the St. Lawrence and were moving southward, while the Delawares and other Algonquin tribes were situated north and west of the "Great River," which may have been the Mississippi, and were moving eastward.

were the original Mound Builders; leaving out of the account the fact that other tribes, such as the Dakotas and Delawares, have traditions that they also occupied the same region. The question now before the archaeologists is one of dates, for there are different horizons showing that different tribes traversed the same region.¹ But the task is

¹The discoveries in the interior are also illustrated by the various maps. These followed in the order of time the discoveries on the coast; and yet they overlap them, so that the same maps may be used twice. There are many collections of maps which illustrate the progress of these discoveries. One in the Library of Harvard College; another in the State Library at Albany; another in the Library of Congress at Washington; another owned by the American Geographical Society. There is also a fine collection at Cleveland, which was gathered at a great expense by Judge Charles C. Baldwin, now deceased.

The maps which illustrate the location of the Indian tribes as well as the claims set up by the different nationalities to the Mississippi Valley are quite numerous; several of them are reproduced by Winsor in his "Mississippi Valley," as follows: 1. A map of the French settlement in North America, by Thomas Kitchin, in *London Magazine* for December, 1747. This is one of the best maps of the interior, for it represents the location of the Indian tribes, Apalaches, Taensas, Tonicas, Natchez, Yasous, Tchactas [Choctaws], Arkansas, Tchicachas [Chicasaws], Cheraquis [Cherokees], Chouanons [Shawnees], Eries, Illinois, Tamarois, Cascaquias [Kaskaskias], Mascoutins [Mascoutens], les Renere [Foxes], Miamis, Hurons, Iroquois, Outaouais [Ottawas], Abenakis, Etchemins.

2. Coxe's map of Carolana, published in 1722. The history of this map is as follows: Dr. Daniel Coxe bought the patent of Carolana, and in 1698 sent a Col. Welch to explore the country, fitted out two armed ships with a company of French Huguenots with the object of settling somewhere on the Mississippi. His son published a book in 1722 describing the country in the interior, and asserting priority of English explorations to the French. These two maps are the result.

3. Bowen & Gibson's "North America," London, 1763. This shows the country which was conquered by the Iroquois and so brought under the control of the English. This map gives the country of the Choctaws, Chicasaws, Creeks and Alibamons. The upper section shows the country of the Illinois, Mascoutins, Miamis, Twightwees. The title, "Conquered country by the Iroquois," extends from the north shore of Lake Huron to New Orleans; "which by deed of sale they surrendered to Ye Crown of Great Britain in 1701 and renewed in 1726 and 1744."

On this map we notice the following: "The Natchez are allies of the English." "The Tennessee is called the Cherakee or Hogohegee river." "Tannasee an English factory and Telliko factory" on the head-waters of the river, "Walker settlement" (1750) situated on the Cumberland River. The "Shawnoes" are on the Ohio River, and "Shawnoah an English factory" is located on the Sciota River, and an English fort and settlement, 1740, 150 miles from the Ohio River among the Pickawallanees near Piqua. The Pouteuatamis are situ-

to identify the tribes in the relics and decide upon the succession.

III. This leads us to the last point which we shall consider; namely, the archæological results which have followed the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. It is plain that the results have been valuable for they have had the effect to correct some of the false theories, solve some of the difficult problems and secure a positive advance of the science of archæology. We do not need to go over the problems or mention all of the theories which have prevailed, but will only say that there were many false theories as to the peopling of this continent; the theory that the lost tribes were to be found here being the most prominent and the most misleading. Another theory was that America was the seat of a very high grade of civilization, and that specimens of writing and art were likely to be found which would prove a connection between the ancient people of the Mississippi Valley and the ancient races of the East. This theory has been exploded; and yet no one has so far been able to define exactly the stage of culture which the different tribes had reached; for some will class them all with the rudest savages, making no distinction between the relics and works of the Mound Builders and those of the wild Indians, while others claim for them a grade of progress which was higher and better than that which prevailed among the Indians known to history. This fact comes out more and more as we study the testimony of the explorers.

We may say here, second, that the period which intervened between the early explorations and the early settle-

ated at the south end of Lake Michigan or Illinois. Fort Detroit is located on the St. Clair River. "Eries were extirpated by the Iroquois above a century past from which time they have been in possession of Lake Erie."

4. Mitchell's map, 1775, of The British Colonies. This shows "Walker's," and "the extent of the English settlements," 1750; "Telliquo an English factory"; "Quanessee, English factory"; "Deserted Cherokee settlements" on the Tennessee River and among the mountains below the river. The traders' routes in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee are also laid down.

ments was filled with events which have few records, except those found in the traditions of the aborigines, or in the relics hidden within the mounds, or the testimony of travellers and traders. From these three sources, we hope, ultimately, to make out the history of the Mississippi Valley, but we must embrace all under the department of archæology and look to the progress of this science to clear up things which are now obscure. We search the military records to learn about the history of the forts. The treaties with the Indians and the fragmentary history of the trading-stations and factories need to be examined, for we have a long period of Indian occupation sandwiched in between the early days of the explorers and the days of the first settlers. We call this the "Indian Period," as we call the period before the discovery, the "Mound Builders' Age," or, the prehistoric period; but we include both of these under the one department of archæology.

It is unfortunate that the Protestant missionaries and the English traders have not left a better record, for it is much easier now to find the traces of military occupation than it is to find the sites of the Indian villages.¹ The visit of Jonathan Carver to the village of the Fox Indians in Wisconsin, the journey of Gen. Pike to the head-waters of the Minnesota River, and again to the peak which bears his name, the route taken by Gen. Long and his party, and by Lewis and Clark in their distant journey across the

¹ The maps which may aid the archæologists in identifying the trading-posts which were established by the different nationalities, several of which are found in Mississippi Basin by Winsor, are as follows: Homann, 1720 [p. 92]. Law's Louisiana, 172 [p. 106]. Sayer and Jeffery's, — [p. 117]. The Illinois country, 1776 [p. 119]. Dr. James Smith's map, London, 1720 [p. 142]. Vangondy's, 1750 [p. 205]. Charlevoix, 1746 [p. 215]. Thomas Kitchin's, 1747 [p. 226]. Lewis Evans, 1758 [p. 244-5], showing the trails and trading-points and portages in Ohio. Andrew's map, London, Indian Paths in Ohio, 1783 [p. 247]. Adair's map of the Indian Nations, 1775 [p. 262]. Dumont's map of the Chicawasaw and Choctaw country [p. 265]. Covens et Mortier, 1758 [p. 275]. Mitchell's map, 1775 [p. 280]. Pownall, 1776 [p. 303]. Bowen & Gibson's map, 1763 [p. 328].

Rocky Mountains, have all been written about, and the localities identified. These help us to trace the history of the Indians back over the period which preceded, and identify the mounds which they noticed and made a record of. And yet, it remained for a different kind of exploration to fill up the details and make the record complete,—that kind of exploration which resulted in a description of the Indians and their villages, and especially of the mounds and earthworks.

If we go to the descriptions of Bartram, the botanist, and of Adair, the Indian agent, we shall find many customs of the Indians described; and we may suppose that they are the same which existed at the time of the Spaniards, two hundred years before. And yet, the testimony comes from these writers that the Indians known to history were not the original occupants. Such, also, is the testimony of missionaries. Rev. Elias Cornelius, who was afterwards secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., says: “When I visited the famous Etowah mound the Cherokee chiefs who attended me all declared that these were not built by their ancestors, and they know nothing about the people who built them.” Col. Charles C. Jones, who has written a very interesting book on the “Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes,” and who was familiar with a great many of the old writers, seems to think that the Indians built the earthworks; and yet he quotes the language of Bartram, who says: “I am convinced that the chunky yards now, or lately in use among the Creeks are of very ancient date,—not the *formation of the present Indians.*” Thomas Jefferson was an explorer among the mounds. He examined with considerable care a barrow on the low grounds of the Ravinna, and found that it contained not less than a thousand skeletons. He was presented with two “Indian busts,” or idols, which were unearthed on the bank of the Cumberland River near Palmyra. He says: “The lineaments are strongly marked and such as

are peculiar to the copper-colored aboriginal inhabitants of America."

Du Pratz, in 1763, wrote the history of Louisiana, and Mr. Haywood the history of Tennessee in 1823. Both speak of the customs of the Indians, and Mr. Haywood describes some of the mounds. Du Pratz also speaks of the customs of the Natchez and describes the burial of the *stung serpent*, a description which will apply very well to the pyramid mounds situated near Natchez. Captain Romans describes a spot especially prepared and adapted for the dance.

Dr. Brickell, in 1737, speaks of the Indians of North Carolina as wearing "great bobs in their ears and necklaces of money made from shells, and a sort of gorget that hangs on their collar whereon is engraved a cross or some sort of figure which comes to their fancy." Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft also began explorations in 1820, and continued exploring and writing for nearly thirty years. His volumes are now relied upon mainly for information as to the manners and customs of Indians, their style of dress, and articles of industry. He made a record of their picture-writings, mide songs, secret societies. His works throw light on the previous conditions of the Indians.

These writers help us to understand the customs of the Indians and to locate the different tribes at the time of the first settlements of the Mississippi Valley. They do not, however, furnish much information concerning the Mound Builders, who were the original occupants of the Valley, and whose arts and customs were different from those of the tribes which followed; as the explorers and traders soon modified these and introduced what might be called the protohistoric period.

The archaeological exploration may be said to have commenced with Caleb Atwater of Ohio. At least, he was the first to explore among the mounds and to write a book upon the subject. Various discussions, to be sure, had

been carried on before his time, and certain articles had been published by the American Philosophical Society, prepared by Mr. Sargent.

We may say that the protohistoric relics are more difficult to account for than either the prehistoric or the historic, and the Mound Builder problem is obscured by this uncertainty and the want of information concerning the Indians during this intervening period. Still there are early maps which reveal the geographical features of the interior and give the location of the Indian tribes and their central villages. The Iron Age was introduced by the white man after the times of the Discovery, but it brought confusion into the Archæological record. These maps indicate not only a general acquaintance with the interior, but show that there were trading-posts located in that very region where the most important relics have been found. They furnish a hint as to the traffic which was carried on between the Indians and the different nationalities, but furnished no history of it. It is only when we take this as the special point of study and examine the documents and maps, and follow up the routes of the traders, that we shall be able to understand the archæology of this middle period, the period in which this Iron Age was introduced.

There were certain impressions formed in this early period which were manifestly erroneous. It was a popular sentiment of the time that great antiquity and a high grade of civilization were to be ascribed to the Mound Builders, and that even an alphabet belonged to them. As a result various frauds were practised. Among these we shall place the tablet taken from the Grave Creek mound in 1838, the Holy Stone of Newark, the Pompey Stone of New York, and worst of all, the copper plates dug up by Joe Smith and made the foundation of the Mormon Bible. The Cincinnati tablet was discovered about this time, but has since been pronounced a genuine product of the so-called Mound Builder's age. The silver relics which

were discovered by Dr. Hildreth, and supposed to be the scabbard of a sword, have been explained in an article published by this Society, written by Prof. Frederic W. Putnam; also in the Bulletin of the Peabody Museum.

It was during the year 1876, and in connection with the centennial at Philadelphia, that a new impetus was given to exploration among the mounds. The *American Antiquarian* was established in 1878, and began to publish the accounts of such explorations. The Bureau of Ethnology was also established, and they began their various explorations. The theory adopted by the Bureau at once was that the Mound Builders were Indians, and that there was no perceptible difference between the relics and customs of the one and of the other. The theory advocated by the editor of the *American Antiquarian* was that there was a Mound Building age which should be distinguished from the period of Indian occupation, and that the term "Mound Builders" should be retained. The position amounts to this: That the proto-historic period is different from the prehistoric, as it is marked by a different class of tokens, and by different customs; and it is better to use the old terms which are understood, rather than new terms which need to be defined.

The explorations under the Bureau of Ethnology have, however, not been confined to the mounds and earthworks; but different persons have been sent into the interior to study the languages and myths of the various tribes. Others have been sent to make a note of the pictographs and petroglyphs which are so numerous throughout the Mississippi Valley. Certain individuals have also been commissioned to make a thorough search for palæolithic relics, and an examination of the gravel beds in which they were said to be found. This work of the Bureau of Ethnology has, however, been supplemented by the voluntary explorations of many private individuals, some of whom have

sent their reports to the Smithsonian to be published by them. Others have sent them to the various papers and periodicals. The Peabody Museum has also had exploring parties in the field during every year, and the Bulletins are full of brief, but comprehensive reports of the results that have followed. The various Historical Societies, Academies of Science, and Natural History Societies have had parties in the field, both as volunteers and as authorized representatives, and have published much valuable material.¹

The Society of Natural History of Cincinnati began explorations near Madisonville, and gathered many relics into the cabinet. Dr. Charles Metz continued the work under the Peabody Museum. The Western Reserve Historical Society, under the direction of Col. Charles Whittlesey, continued exploring the region along the south shore of Lake Erie. Contents of shelter caves at Elyria were gathered by Mr. C. E. Baldwin. Plats of the old forts were drawn. The Davenport Academy of Science sent out exploring parties and secured a large collection of pottery from Arkansas and Missouri which had been gathered by Mr. W. H. Pratt, and a large collection of pipes which had been gathered by their own members. The Academy of Science and the Washington University at St. Louis instituted exploring parties among the ancient villages near New Madrid, and gathered a large collection. Large collections have been gathered by various historical societies and academies; among them may be mentioned the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Academy of Science of Milwaukee; also a few colleges, among which may be mentioned Beloit College, and the University of Ohio, though the colleges are generally remiss in preserving relics and monuments in their own vicinity, and much information has been lost.²

A few individuals have, at their own expense, persevered

¹ *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2.

in exploring mounds and publishing reports. The writer began in 1878 exploring the effigy mounds of Wisconsin, with which he was familiar from childhood, and continued at intervals until nearly all the groups were visited and platted. An effort was made to secure appropriations from the legislature of Wisconsin, but failed. The results of these surveys were published in the magazine, and afterward gathered in book form and published in 1890,—making the second volume of the series called *Prehistoric America*.

Among other explorers may be mentioned Mr. W. K. Moorehead, who did a great deal of exploring at his own expense, and exhibited a valuable collection at the Cincinnati Exposition in 1890. He also published a book on Fort Ancient “compiled from a careful survey.” Mr. William McAdams explored the region between the mouth of the Illinois River and the mouth of the Missouri, and gathered a valuable collection which was sold to the State and is now in the cabinet at Springfield. He also surveyed the works at Cahokia and platted a map of them. He published a small book called “Records of Ancient Races.” Rev. J. T. MacLean explored many of the mounds of Southern Ohio under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. Col. R. S. Robertson explored the mounds of Indiana, and published an account in the *Smithsonian Reports*. Prof. J. T. Short also published a book on the “North Americans of Antiquity; Their Origin, Migrations and types of Civilization Considered.” The Canadian Institute at Toronto began to collect relics from Canada including those from the ancient village sites of the Hurons and Iroquois. Mr. Geo. E. Laidlaw explored the regions farther north, and sent relics to the Institute. Mr. A. F. Berlin explored the regions near Allentown. Gen. G. P. Thurston carried on some very extensive explorations near Nashville, and published a very valuable book on the *Antiquities of Tennessee*. Mr. T. H. Lewis explored many localities,

in Wisconsin, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio, and gathered a very valuable collection, which is now in the keeping of McAllister College at Minneapolis.

Mr. A. E. Douglass explored the mounds in Florida, and placed his collection in the Natural History Museum, Central Park, New York. Hon. Bela Hubbard explored the garden beds in Michigan and published a report of them in the *American Antiquarian*. Prof. John Todd explored mounds in Dakota, and published an account of the effigies of the serpent in the *Naturalist*, under the title of "Boulder Mosaics."

The Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, gave new impulse to the work of exploring the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of visiting the native tribes throughout the entire west. Parties were formed and sent into Ohio. As a result, some remarkable discoveries were made. The Hopewell Mounds, which were situated in Clarke's Works and had been previously examined, yielded the most valuable series of relics. A large amount of copper was exhumed here, and some relics which baffled the archæologists, since they resembled the European relics so strongly. Large collections were exhibited in the Illinois Building under the charge of Mr. William McAdams. Others, from Missouri and Illinois, were exhibited under the charge of William Seler. Also pottery from Arkansas under the charge of Mr. Riggs; and the collections from Ohio and other localities under the charge of W. K. Moorehead. Mr. Harlan I. Smith, who explored mounds in Michigan, was employed in the Anthropological Building. These were subject to the examination of the gentlemen who attended the Congress of Anthropology which was held on the ground.

We close this review of the history of exploration, with congratulations to the American Antiquarian Society which began so early to encourage the scholars and scientific men in their work, and are free to say that the work which this Society has taken upon itself is destined to have a great

effect upon the three departments of science to which we have called attention. The gathering of archæological relics has been relegated to the museums and archæological societies, but the gathering of books and maps which throw light upon the history of exploration is still going on. The comparison of the descriptions contained in the books and the maps with the relics which are gathered into the museums will enable us to draw the picture of this Mississippi Valley as it was at the time of the discovery, and also enable us to mark the changes which occurred up to the time of the settlement by the whites. The history of this valley may be divided into three periods,—that which belonged purely to the the Aborigines; that which shows the mingling of the Aborigines with the whites; and that which treats of its complete occupation by the whites. All three periods having been embraced by the Society from the outset as its special provinces into which it was to enter.

It is fortunate that the American Antiquarian Society and the Smithsonian Institution were established at that period when settlement was rapidly increasing, and when the tribes east of the Mississippi were so rapidly disappearing; for the treatises on the languages of the Indians and the works of the Mound Builders have by this means been preserved. We must not forget that the American Philosophical Society was established, and that certain treatises were published by that Society. The geologists also were thoughtful and took pains to survey the mounds. The best work on the subject is the one which was published by the Smithsonian, as its first contribution, under the title of "The Ancient Monuments in the Mississippi Valley." This volume included the results which have been furnished by other explorers,—the eccentric Rafinesque; Mr. McBride in Ohio and in Mississippi; Mr. James Hough in Louisiana; S. Taylor, R. C. Taylor, and R. C. Locke among the effigy mounds of Wisconsin.¹

¹ The Spanish intrusion into the region occupied by the southern Mound

It is due to the American Antiquarian Society that Mr. Atwater's investigations were made, and his "Description of the Antiquities discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States," published; and it is also owing to the coöperation of this Society with the Smithsonian that the interesting work on "The Antiquities of Wisconsin, as Surveyed and Described," by Dr. Increase A. Lapham, was undertaken and published. The same society published also the valuable work of Albert Gallatin on "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of the North America,"—a work which has proved to be the foundation of most of the linguistic studies which have followed. Mr. Gallatin's system has not been supplanted by any new theory or classification.

It is very gratifying that the Society has accumulated such a valuable collection of books, maps and original documents, all which will be so useful to students in following lines of investigation as to the three periods referred to above; especially so that the publications have not been

Builders began with Ponce de Leon in 1512, and De Allouez in 1520, and by De Soto in 1539, and continued to modify the art products for many years. The French intrusion, commenced in 1534 under Jacques Cartier, continued under Champlain, Duluth, La Salle, Nicolet, Joliet, and others in 1680; first among the Iroquois in New York and afterward among the Algonquins in Illinois. The English trade began with the Algonquins or Powhattans under Capt. John Smith, 1607 extended to Pennsylvania, 1609 to New York and Ohio, and finally formed a cordon of factories along the Indian trails and near the portages throughout the entire valley of the Ohio. English settlements and also English factories were established at an early date among the Southern tribes, such as the Chicasaws, Choctaws and Creeks, as may be seen by the study of the maps above.

The history of the Dutch trade with the Indians is not so well known. "The Algonquin stock, commencing with John Cabot, were taught in the industrial arts by French, Dutch, Swedes, and English Puritans, Quakers and loyalists, who contributed to their outfits iron arrow-heads, knives, saws, files, drills, fish-hooks, and guns, and having cajoled them out of the knack of their native arts put them into close intimacy with the blacksmith, gunsmith and the wood-worker."—[From *The American Anthropologist*.

The Scandinavian trade began under the Norseman in 900 with the tribes in New England, and no doubt modified the arts of the Aborigines; thus introducing the Iron Age into America nearly 1,000 years ago.

confined to any one province or locality, but have embraced the entire continent; the history of the exploration of the Mississippi valley having been from the outset very prominent, and those who were dwelling in the great valley having frequently contributed to those publications. May we not predict for the Society on this account a future of greater usefulness and an influence which will extend to all parts of the continent, thus perpetuating the names of the early explorers and the later historians for many generations to come.

NOTE BY COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.—The maps used in connection with the foregoing article are taken from Mr. Winsor's valuable works on "The Mississippi Basin," and "From Cartier to Frontenac," by arrangement with him and his publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.



PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1896, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE Society was called to order by President STEPHEN SALISBURY at 10.30 o'clock A. M.

The following members were present:¹

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Frederic W. Putnam, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Francis Adams, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Benjamin A. Gould, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, Simeon E. Baldwin, William DeLoss Love, Jr., Rockwood Hoar, Thomas C. Mendenhall, William T. Forbes, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council was prepared by THOMAS C. MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

A memorial of Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., prepared by Col. Albert H. Hoyt, was read by Col. A. GEORGE BULLOCK.

¹ The names are given in the order of election.

Dr. MENDENHALL read a memorial of Prof. Ernst Curtius, LL.D., of the University of Berlin.

Dr. MENDENHALL also read, in connection with the Report of the Council, a paper on the subject of "Twenty Unsettled Miles in the Northeast Boundary."

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, presented the Report of the Treasurer, in print.

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

Dr. JUSTIN WINSOR said :—

Dr. Mendenhall's paper is an interesting one, showing how boundaries run through water are always liable to dispute, if particular fishing-privileges are found to exist near an unmarked line. I have made the statement in print, and others have made the assertion, that it took ninety years to determine precisely what was our boundary-line upon British America. The beginning of this continuous controversy began, of course, with the earliest interpretation of the treaty of 1782, and was prolonged by the acquisition of Louisiana, and was not, as was supposed, concluded when the German Emperor in 1872 arbitrated the San Juan dispute in the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland. It seems now that we must amend that statement by saying that one hundred and fourteen years have already passed since 1782, and the question is not yet settled. Besides this trouble at Eastport, there is also if recent reports can be believed, the beginnings of another case for a joint commission, in following the line along the "Grand Portage" between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods.

It is an interesting fact that towards the end of the eighteenth century, the determination of the actual boundary of the United States on the northeast was decided by the act of de Monts and Champlain in the early years of the seventeenth century, in making a settlement on a little

island in one of the affluents of Passamaquoddy Bay. The name of St. Croix as applied to one of these affluents, had been at different times given to three rivers flowing into that bay, and in Mitchell's map of 1755, which the Commissioners in 1782 had before them, the geographical delineation too vaguely corresponds to the truth to be a determinate guide in the matter.

Champlain called the island on which he settled St. Croix, and once he called the river by that name, though he usually gives another name to it. The joint commission in 1798 finally determined to accept that river as the true St. Croix, in which an island could be found answering in shape to that shown in Champlain's map, and on which, by digging, the foundations of Champlain's buildings could be found in position corresponding to his plans. These conditions were met on the examination of what was called Douchet Island, and it was thenceforward definitely determined that what is now known as the St. Croix River should be the eastern boundary of the United States. I visited this island some fifteen years ago; but all traces of these foundations had then disappeared, the stones having been used for building the lighthouse and the keeper's cottage. Professor Haynes tells me that he searched the island the past summer, but could find no trace of Champlain's foundations.

Professor HENRY W. HAYNES said:—

I merely wish to state that although there is no longer any evidence remaining on the island of the existence of the fortress or the settlement, yet I was told this last summer by the lighthouse keeper, that some two rods to the northeast of the present building, in a spot that Dr. Mendenhall will doubtless remember, there were dug up, not long ago, some iron and other ancient objects, evidently connected with the settlement, which have been sent to Washington. So practically his statement is correct, that

the lighthouse occupies the site of the ancient fortress.

Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE said :—

The Librarian's Report speaks of the bequest of Miss Henshaw of Leicester, which includes some valuable orderly books and other property of her grandfather, Col. William Henshaw. Among the articles is a very fine gun, which has been reported to have been the property of George Washington. The exact facts about it are of some interest, and are thus given in Gov. Washburn's "History of Leicester."

Mr. [Thomas] Earle resided in Cherry Valley, Leicester. . . . He was distinguished for his mechanical skill and ingenuity. He manufactured a gun of excellent workmanship for Col. William Henshaw in 1773; and when Colonel Henshaw marched to Cambridge in 1775, he took it into the service. Here it fell under the observation of General Washington who admired it so much that he ordered one of the same pattern. Mr. Earle having completed it, loaded and primed it, and placed it under water, all but the muzzle, during a night; and taking it out in the morning discharged it as if it had just been loaded. He carried it to New York, where the army then lay, and delivered it personally to General Washington, having travelled the distance on foot and carried it upon his shoulder. It received great commendation for its perfection of workmanship.

In "Ralph Earle and His Descendants,"—an admirable piece of genealogical work, compiled by the late Dr. Pliny Earle, of Northampton, who was through life a constant benefactor of this Society,—I find this paragraph following the above citation from Washburn's History :—

The gun was marked with the maker's name, "Thomas Earl." Upon reading this, General Washington said, "Mr Earle, your name is not correctly spelled. E-a-r-l is a title of nobility; you should add an *e* to it."

The several reports together constituting the Report of the Council, were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Judge WILLIAM T. FORBES and Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, appointed to collect ballots for President, reported 42 votes cast, all for STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., and he was duly elected.

A Committee, of which SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D., was chairman, reported the following list of other officers of the Society, and they were elected by ballot :—

Vice-Presidents.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council; and the following :—

Council.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, Rhode Island.

JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, A.B., of Worcester.

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A. M., of Worcester.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors.

WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, presented the following list of nominations for membership :—

ARTHUR LORD, A.B., of Plymouth.

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D., of Worcester.

And as foreign members :—

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STEVENS, of London, England.

HENRY VIGNAUD, of Paris, France.

The several gentlemen who were proposed, were elected, on separate ballots.

The RECORDING SECRETARY gave some account of his attendance, as a delegate from this Society, at the laying of the Memorial [or Corner] Stone of the Robinson Memorial Church at Gainsborough, England, on June 29th of the present year. As a preparation for the occasion, he paid a preliminary visit to the neat and classic city of Leyden in Holland, “a fair city” “of a sweet situation,” whose

chief attractions are the memorials of John Robinson, the famous university of which he was a member, and the ancient church of St. Peter's beneath which he lies buried. The old church was built before the Reformation, and its ancient religious paintings in fresco were painted over by the Protest-ants, as happened in many other cases,—an act much regretted at this day by those who worship within its sacred walls. A niche or recess on the outside of that part of the church which is opposite the site of Robinson's dwelling, is occupied by a bronze tablet in memory of the man at whose “prompting went forth the Pilgrim Fathers to settle New England in 1620,” and recording the fact that he was “buried under this house of worship 4 Mar. 1625 *Aet. XLIX* years.” The tablet, which was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies, July 24, 1891, was erected by the National Council of the Congregational Churches of this country. A dwelling-house, directly opposite, was purchased by Robinson in 1611. In this house he dwelt and had his church. The dwelling now occupying the site bears a lesser tablet, erected in 1865, by Professor George E. Day, D.D., and our former associate, the late Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., with the inscription: “On this spot lived, taught and died John Robinson, 1611–1625.”

The exercises at Gainsborough called forth a large assemblage of people, from London and other parts of the Kingdom. “The American Pilgrims,” an excursion party, largely from New England, organized by the Rev. Dr. Albert E. Dunning of Boston, were also present, and the National Council of American Congregational Churches was represented by a deputation which included one or more lineal descendants of John Robinson himself. The propriety of selecting Gainsborough as a place in which to erect the Memorial Church, consists in the belief that Robinson was a native of that town, and the fact that the Leyden church was originally constituted there. The first event of the day was the presentation by the Urban

District Council of an address of welcome to the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, United States Ambassador, who was later to lay the cornerstone. Mr. Bayard made a graceful response, and then came a public dinner in the old Manor Hall, in which Henry VIII. is said to have once held court. Over this dinner presided Alderman Joseph Thompson, J. P., of Manchester. Besides Mr. Bayard, the chief guests of honor were the Rt. Hon. Earl Brownlow, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Sir Hickman Bacon, the lord of the manor and premier baronet of England. To the first toast, "The Queen," a verse of the national anthem was sung; and the second toast "The President of the United States," proposed in graceful terms by Earl Brownlow, as representative of the Queen, was followed by "a verse of the national anthem of America: *tune, God Save the Queen*,"—Trojan and Tyrian joining in each with equal familiarity and unction. Mr. Bayard made one of his characteristic, happy speeches in response, and, at a later hour, he laid the cornerstone of the new church and delivered a scholarly and eloquent address upon the lesson of the day,—the life and labors of Robinson, the development, growth and results of the religious movement of which he was one of the pioneers and chief exponents.

The prime mover in the enterprise of founding this memorial church was the Rev. Hugh S. Griffiths, pastor of the Congregational Society at Gainsborough. The thoroughness of the details of the celebration, arranged by a committee of which he was chairman, and the zeal with which he has labored since the inception of the enterprise, are entitled to hearty recognition and augur well for the complete success of his plan for a new church, to be paid for by those who honor the Pilgrim Fathers, and have enjoyed the fruit of their labors.

An American "jingoist" who had found himself in England during the past summer, would have had an

uncomfortable time. The "American Pilgrims," to whom allusion has been made, from the moment of their landing at Plymouth in Devonshire, throughout their tour of visits to the places of special interest to them, were everywhere received with a cordiality which churchmen and non-conformists vied with one another in exhibiting. The leading English newspapers heralded their movements, and made frequent expression of the hope that the tour would increase the good will between the two peoples. The two great conventions which were held in midsummer to nominate candidates for President of the United States, were fully reported in the London press, and the editorial comments might almost have been written by American patriots. The same spirit of hearty good will was manifested at Gainsborough. The American flag floated over hotels and warehouses in London and elsewhere, as if Venezuela were an unknown country. It was also pleasant to observe the evident respect and friendship everywhere shown to the American Ambassador, and the good will which the Ambassador evidently felt towards our Vice-President, his former colleague. Mr. Bayard was especially sorry that Mr. Hoar, who had hoped to be present, could not take the seat at the Gainsborough table which had been reserved for him. It fell to the lot of the Recording Secretary to occupy, but not to fill, the place.

Vice-President HOAR said :—

I will not detain the Society with reminiscences of a very agreeable and instructive European journey. It was made much more agreeable by the kindness of two of our associates, Mr. Winsor and Mr. Pierce, who presented me to some of their friends in England. I visited the scenes in England which Mr. Chase has described, and also Delft Haven, Leyden and Amsterdam. I endeavored to get in Leyden such representations as I could of the buildings and scenes upon which the eyes of the Pilgrims rested. I

have brought home some old prints which are familiar to some of you. They show how much of the ancient city still abides, and enable us to form a very accurate idea of Leyden as it was in the Pilgrims' day. There are several public buildings still standing which were completed between 1617 and 1620. They, of course, were objects of great interest to our fathers. I visited the old church in Delft Haven which stood close to the wharf where the Pilgrims embarked and still stands unchanged. They have a book there in which it is claimed that the Pilgrims had religious services in that church. This is not unlikely. It is a place of worship of their own faith, and they would hardly have taken another place to hear Robinson's sermon or to have any prolonged religious worship. I asked the woman who showed me about, if she had any broken bit of the church which I could get as a memorial. She brought a little piece of rock, four or five inches square. I asked her where she got it. She said it was a piece of the old threshold, broken and removed a short time before, which she kept to supply little bits of it to visitors. I asked to see it so there might be no question of the genuineness of the thing. She showed me a stone which had evidently been part of the threshold, and which had been split. It had formed the old threshold at the front porch which, as clearly appeared, has been lately replaced. On it was the letter M, followed by 5 C's, denoting 1500, the date of the building. Under that was a figure like the figure 4 reversed, that is, with the angular mark on the right instead of on the left of the perpendicular mark, and a little cross at the end of the horizontal mark, which crosses the middle of the figure 4. What that designates I dare say some gentleman here will know. I saw half-a-dozen old churches in Holland with similar inscriptions of the date on the old stone thresholds. So that was undoubtedly the custom of that time. I saw also, on the floor of this very church, on the tombstones, several examples of

this hieroglyphic. I saw them also, in the old church at Amsterdam. I was afterward at Sudley Castle in England, the guest of Miss Emma Dent, the owner of the castle, where are three or four ancient windows, of which I have drawings, with this same figure painted on the glass. She had, also, two or three curious old carved wooden boxes. Among them was one she got from the family of Desborough, which was captured from Charles I., and contained among other papers, correspondence with the Queen which highly incriminated the King, and, it is said, led the Puritan leaders to determine on his execution. On some of these boxes I saw the same curious figure. Some people think it is a masonic sign. Other people think it is a builder's mark. But that notion is refuted because it is found so often on graves. Other people think it is the mystical sign of the Trinity, the three principal marks representing the three persons of the Trinity, and the horizontal mark representing the cross. I procured the whole of the fragment of the threshold and sent it to Plymouth, where it is to be built into the wall of the First Church of Plymouth, which is to take the place of the church which was destroyed by fire a few years ago. It certainly is probable that the Pilgrims visited that church at the time of their embarkation. If that be true, we have in our Plymouth the first object which their feet touched when they landed here and the last object now existing which their feet touched when they departed from Holland. The character of the old wharf has been a good deal changed since that time.

I will speak very briefly of one other matter. While I was abroad I had a letter from the Hon. Edward L. Pierce, asking me to find out whether the petitions of our tories for pensions, or other aid, were in existence. He said he had reason to think that they might prove a very rich and unexplored mine of historical information. I went with Mr. Stevens, whom we have just elected a member, to the Record Office. There I met Mr. Hall, who succeeded Mr.

Sainsbury. He is the custodian of these documents. I found him a very agreeable, pleasant and modest person, who is greatly interested in our work, and seemed to take great satisfaction in his membership of our Society. He showed me a book which contained the index to the greater part of these Tory papers. There were some which, for some reason which I forget, were not kept in his office, but elsewhere. He says these documents are exceedingly valuable. Among them are a great many original deeds and other family documents, giving much information as to the condition, wants and history of the petitioners. I glanced at the index and saw many well-known names. Among them was that of James Putnam. There were several petitions from a Boston family, signed by Harrison Gray Otis as attorney. There was the name of Anthony Lechmere. These applications include a period considerably later than the close of the Revolution. I didn't think to look for Timothy Ruggles, or Daniel Bliss. I asked Mr. Hall if I could have the book copied. He thought he hadn't authority to permit that. He said he had little doubt that an application made by the American Antiquarian Society to the proper officer of the government, setting forth that we desired to have these documents examined and copied for purposes purely historical and not in aid of any lawsuit, and desiring further that the fees should be remitted, presented by the American Minister, would now be readily granted. If the fees are not remitted, a proper examination will be pretty burdensome. For instance, if James Putnam gave a receipt once a quarter for his pension and you wanted to look at his receipt, you would have to pay four shillings for each year; and you would not be permitted to take a copy. I don't want to strut in borrowed plumes. The credit of the whole discovery belongs to Mr. Pierce.

Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE said:—

My interest in the American Loyalists was revived by a

visit I made in 1895 to the British Provinces, during which I noted the gravestones of many of them at Halifax, St. John and Fredericton. Since then, Mr. F. E. Winslow, of Chatham, New Brunswick, has given me access to some papers of his ancestors, two loyalists of Plymouth,—Edward Winslow and his son of the same name,—being letters from New York during the British occupation, other letters from Nova Scotia, a contemporaneous copy of the father's memorial to the British Government, asking for compensation, and a copy of the son's letter to an English correspondent, stating his own claim. These statements were both autobiographical, and justified the inference that the memorials of the loyalists deposited in London would throw a great deal of light on their personal fortunes, as well as the history of the period, besides correcting a good many misstatements which are prevalent. For instance, Edward Winslow, the son, appears in his account to have been one of Lord Percy's forces in the expedition to Lexington, a fact not mentioned by Sabine. The father in his memorial states that he remained in Plymouth till 1781, but Sabine says he left there at the close of the siege of Boston. I will add that the Massachusetts archives contain his two applications, made in that year, for leave to visit his son at New York, or meet him at the Elizabeth islands. The same error as to the date of the father's departure from Plymouth is repeated in a recent number of the *New England Magazine*, which gives a summary of some of his own and his son's correspondence. One of the descendants of General Timothy Ruggles is having a sketch of his ancestor prepared, and he is unable to trace continuously the General's life after he left Hardwick, but his memorial would probably assist in completing the account. Realizing the value of these memorials, I made some inquiry as to whether they had ever been printed wholly or in part, or even consulted by historical students, but could not learn that they had been at all explored, or even seen.

It was therefore that I wrote to Mr. Hoar, who was then in London, asking him to make the inquiry to which he has referred.

Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR said : —

In regard to the monogram spoken of by Senator Hoar, it is interesting to see how from the extreme East and from antiquity, the sign travels across Europe, and at last comes with our most unritualistic and most unformalistic Pilgrims. Associated with them I have noticed the monogram a great many times, almost the same as Senator Hoar gives it.

Hon. JAMES P. BAXTER said : —

I will simply remark in reference to the monogram, that it was introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades, was adopted by some of the guilds and became very common. The mark was called the merchants' mark. At Richmond Island, some years ago, a little pot of money was dug up, and in it a ring upon which was engraved a similar device. Anyone interested in the subject will find it treated in the appendix to the Trelawney Papers, page 471, under the title "John Winter's Seal."

On motion of Mr. HOAR, it was —

Voted, "That the President appoint two members of the Society as a committee to make application to the proper authorities of the British government for permission to examine and copy the Memorials or Petitions of American Loyalists, for compensation or pension, now on file in London, at the Record Office, or the Royal Institution, or other place of public deposit (the privilege so requested being sought only for historical purposes) ; and the Society express the hope that the customary fees for such an examination will be remitted."

Mr. HOAR also moved : —

"That if the application be granted, the income of the Levi Lincoln fund for one year be appropriated, and that the committee have leave to expend it to defray the costs of examination and the copies."

The motion prevailed, and the President appointed the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, and the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, as the committee.

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS said : —

As I came into the building to-day, my attention was attracted to four curious portraits, evidently of husbands and wives. I should like to get some information in regard to them. I understand they came from a house here in Worcester, formerly occupied by George Bancroft. Portraits are continually turning up from old houses in New England, and generally a mystery hangs over their origin. I can only say that these four remotely suggest to me Copley in his very earliest style. They are in execution as hard as sign-boards ; and yet there is something about their general make-up, and the hands in particular, which would seem to indicate that there was some artist here in bygone days who was either the master from whom Copley's first method came, or else a later imitator of that method. I should like to get some clue to the origin of those portraits, as suggestive of a possible link in the chain of portraiture in Massachusetts. At what time were they painted?

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON said : —

The history of the four portraits, so far as known, may be found in my report of last April, and in the report of which an abstract only has this day been read. They represent John Bush at two periods of his life, Abigail Adams his third wife, and Charity (or Temperance) Platt his first wife. The later John and his third wife Abigail were painted by McKay in August, 1791, as appears upon each canvas, while the portraits of the earlier John and his first wife Charity (or Temperance) have been ascribed to the artist Peacock.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said : —

Really, Mr. President, the matter about which I am to

speaking a minute or two is of slight importance. I thought that the members of the Society might like, possibly, to glance at a postage-stamp, a duplicate of which has just sold for \$1,050, in addition to the commission of the dealer through whom it was sold. It is on a letter which is in a bound volume of letters received by the Society from the estate of our late associate, the Hon. Isaac Davis. I wonder if his family is not sorry that it parted with the letter-book? I shall pass it around and trust that it is not unreasonable to hope that it will be returned. The stamp is on a letter addressed to Mr. Davis, and written in Millbury, according to the date, August 20, 1846.

It appears that fifty years ago, Col. Asa H. Waters (father-in-law of Professor Grosvenor, our associate, who appears for the first time at a meeting of the Society to-day,) was postmaster in Millbury. He was appointed by President Jackson in 1836, and retained that office until 1848.¹ The wooden block from which the Millbury stamps were printed was cut in Boston in 1846. At that time, a jeweller in Millbury acted as Colonel Waters's assistant in the conduct of the postoffice, and it is understood that it was at the assistant's suggestion that the stamp was issued. A local stamp issued in New York City had been seen, and it was an impulse received from that sight which led to the use of a postage-stamp in Millbury. When Mr. John K. Tiffany wrote, in 1886, his "*History of the Postage-Stamps of the United States of America*," only three copies of this stamp were known to be in existence.² The copy just sold is at least a fourth.

According to Mr. Tiffany, local stamps were issued "at New York, St. Louis, Brattleborough, New Haven, Providence, Alexandria, Baltimore, Millbury, and probably other places,"³ These stamps, says the same writer, "had

¹ *History of the Postage-Stamps of the United States of America*, by John K. Tiffany, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

no official sanction whatever, because no official had any authority to sanction them. It was a mere arrangement between the individual postmaster and the public, for their mutual accommodation.”¹

The fact that local stamps were being issued was, in some cases, says Mr. Tiffany, “brought to the attention of the Postmaster-General, and he saw no objection to the arrangement; in others the whole affair seems to have passed without any attention being paid to it by the Department.”² The fact of the existence of the Millbury stamp does not seem to have been known to collectors until Mr. Tiffany (now of St. Louis, but during his boyhood a resident of Worcester,) made it known after an examination of Mr. Davis’s letter-book in the American Antiquarian Society’s Hall, in July, 1885.³ No regrettable result of the discovery and announcement has come to my notice, unless it be some verses which appear in the *Philatelic Journal of America*, for March, 1887.

While on my feet, Mr. President, I wish to express my satisfaction (and I have no doubt that this satisfaction is shared by all the members of this Society) that the admirable history of King’s Chapel, Boston, begun by our late associate, Rev. Henry W. Foote, has been brought to a successful conclusion. You know that Mr. Foote left a large amount of material for the second volume, which has just been issued. The writers who have completed the work, our late beloved associate, Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, and our present associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes, with great loyalty and modesty, have ascribed all the honor due for the work to Mr. Foote. While much is certainly due to him, it is evident, also, that the editors have earned great credit.

¹ History of the Postage-Stamps of the United States of America, by John K. Tiffany, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

³ *The Philatelic Journal of America*, Vol. III., p. 32.

HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS said : —

There is no regret on the part of the family of Isaac Davis, that the letter with the Millbury postmark is in the safe-keeping of the American Antiquarian Society.

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER said : —

I should like to put in the Proceedings, if possible, a communication¹ from Prof. Egbert C. Smyth, of Andover, who read, a year ago, a very keen and fascinating paper on the early writings of Jonathan Edwards. Professor Smyth raised in that paper certain questions about the date of Edwards's earliest philosophical speculations, whether he was influenced by what Bishop Berkeley had written. He has just been able pretty clearly to destroy the hypothesis that Edwards knew anything of Berkeley, and to show that a passage which is quoted in the lives of Samuel Johnson, who was tutor at Yale in Edwards's time, didn't refer to Berkeley, and that Johnson himself didn't know anything of Berkeley's philosophical works until 1728. This establishes Edwards's independent investigation and theory.

The PRESIDENT extended an invitation to the members to take luncheon at his house, which was accepted.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

¹ See page 251.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SINCE the last meeting of the Society it has suffered in the loss, by death, of two of its members, brief memorial notices of whom have been prepared and accompany this report.

The memoir of Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige was prepared by our associate, Mr. Albert H. Hoyt.

The reports of the Librarian and Treasurer, which are presented herewith, will be found to contain much information relating to the work and property of the Society, and the Council finds nothing of special importance to add to these.

The continued efficiency of the management of the library of the Society is evident to all who have occasion to make use of its resources; and it is only necessary to say that there has been no lessening of that efficiency during the last six months.

Ernst Curtius, the distinguished classicist and archæologist, was born September 2, 1814, at Lübeck, a famous historic town of northern Germany, lying on a bay of the same name which opens into the Baltic Sea. His ancestry was distinguished not only for a love of letters and learning, but as well for the very prominent position which some of them have held in the political and public affairs of their city. The family name is a Latin form of the German "Kurz" (short). The father of Ernst Curtius was for many years "Syndic" or "home-governor" of the small but independent republic of Lübeck. He possessed decided literary tastes and enjoyed an acquaintance

and correspondence with the most eminent literary men of his time. There were three sons in the family, one older and one younger than Ernst. The older, Theodore, followed his father in the study of law and became burgo-master of Lübeck. The younger, George, reached great distinction as a comparative etymologist, and died about ten years ago.

After finishing his training at the local gymnasium, Ernst Curtius, in 1834, matriculated at the University of Bonn, carrying with him a reputation as a brilliant classical student. Here he was fortunate in winning the friendship of Professor Brandis, whose influence largely determined the activities of his immediate future. In 1837, Brandis was invited to accompany the young Bavarian Prince, Otho, who was newly elected King of Greece, to Athens, where he was to be a sort of confidential adviser to the youthful sovereign. He invited young Curtius to join him in the capacity of tutor to his own children, and in this way he entered the field in which he afterward won such great distinction. Although he returned in a few years to, and lived most of his long life in, Germany, Greece continued to be the subject of his most earnest thoughts and his most extensive investigations. At the age of thirty years he published his first great work, "The Acropolis of Athens," which at once won him a place among the leading archaeologists of the day. In a lecture upon the Acropolis, before a distinguished audience in Berlin, he is said to have so charmed the Princess, afterward the Empress, and mother of Emperor Frederick, that he was at once selected to superintend the education of the Crown Prince, with the title of Professor Extraordinary at the University of Berlin. To his personal influence with the Royal family undoubtedly was due the activity and success of the Germans in their Greek explorations of about twenty years ago.

The excavations at Olympia began under the direction of Curtius as early as 1868, but the undertaking was not

vigorously followed up until after the establishment in 1875 of the German Archæological Institute at Athens. Of the very important results of this work, he published a full account in 1882 under the title of "The Discovery of Olympia." Throughout his long and active life, embracing, as it did, more than fourscore years, he published numerous volumes, monographs, memoirs, *etc.*, among the most important of which, in addition to those already referred to, his "History of Greece," published in 1867, should be named. His official position during the later years of his life was that of Professor of History in the University of Berlin, and he continued to discharge the duties incumbent upon him up to about three months of the time of his death. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1891, and his death occurred on July 11, 1896.

The personality of Professor Curtius was strong and noble. His charming manners and inspiring sympathy gave him a great influence over those with whom he came in contact, and all such were devotedly attached to him. Many American scholars were privileged to enjoy his hospitality and friendship, and were among his most enthusiastic admirers. Indeed, the interest in Greek history and art which has grown so rapidly in this country during the past quarter of a century, and which is signalized by the large and constantly growing number of museums of casts of Greek plastic art, may be largely attributed to the work and influence of this distinguished scholar.

Lucius Robinson Paige, D.D., died at his residence in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the afternoon of September 2, 1896, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

He was born in Hardwick, Massachusetts, on the 8th of March, 1802, and was the youngest of the nine children of Timothy and Mary (Robinson) Paige of that town. His grandfather, Colonel Timothy Paige, was active in the war

of the Revolution as a member of the "Committee of Correspondence" and as an officer of the militia. From the "History of Hardwick" we learn that he led his company to Bennington, at the alarm in August, 1777, and to West Point in 1780; that on the organization of the militia after the adoption of the Constitution, he was commissioned Colonel, which office he held during the remainder of his life; that he was a strenuous supporter of the government, and rendered service in the suppression of the Shays rebellion.

Mr. Paige's father, although but eighteen years old at the time of the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington, Concord and Cambridge, in April, 1775, joined the "Minute Men" and marched with them to Cambridge. In his maturer years, the suffrages of his fellow citizens placed and retained him in positions of responsibility during the greater part of his life. He was a representative in the General Court for seventeen consecutive years, and a delegate to the Convention for revising the State Constitution in 1820. On his decease, the leading newspapers spoke of him as an "undeviating patriot," and "universally esteemed for his intelligence and unbending integrity." Other members of the family and their connections by marriage, were among the most respected and useful citizens of Hardwick. Of this number were Brig.-Gen. Timothy Ruggles, and Maj.-Gen. Jonathan Warner.

The American ancestry of Mr. Paige includes, in the paternal line, Elder William Brewster and Governor Thomas Prentice of the Plymouth Colony; in the maternal line, Governor Thomas Dudley of the Massachusetts Colony. Many of his ancestors attained remarkable longevity.

Mr. Paige was educated in the common schools of Hardwick, and at Hopkins Academy in Hadley, Mass. Having determined, after much reflection, to enter the ministry of the Universalist denomination, he placed himself in 1823 under the direction and instruction of the

Reverend Hosea Ballou of Boston. His first sermon was preached in Charlestown, June 1, 1823. His first pastorate was in Springfield, Mass. There his arduous labors, both by voice and pen, resulted in a marked increase of his denomination in that town and its vicinity. His second pastorate was in that part of Gloucester now known as Rockport. In 1832, Mr. Paige was called to the Church in Cambridge, and there also he gained a high reputation as an able preacher and zealous pastor. Through failure of health in 1839, he was compelled to relinquish this pastoral charge, with the warning that he had but a short time to live. He preached occasionally, however, during the next ensuing thirty years.

In the early years of his ministry, Mr. Paige was a frequent contributor to the religious press. In 1830 he reprinted from the *Religious Enquirer*, of Hartford, Conn., his polemical paper entitled "Universalism Defended." Soon afterwards he published his "Selections from Eminent Commentators" (Boston, 1833). This work passed through several editions, and was favorably received beyond the pale of his own denomination. In 1835 he began in the *Trumpet*, of which for some time he was an assistant editor, a series of "Notes on the Scriptures," and these contributions were continued for several years.

Mr. Paige held the office of town clerk of Cambridge from March, 1839, to January, 1840, and again from March, 1843, to May, 1846. From May, 1846, to October, 1855, he was the city clerk, and from 1842 to 1847, one of the assessors of taxes. He helped to organize the Cambridgeport Savings Bank, was its Treasurer from 1855 to 1871, and at his death was its Vice-President and one of its Directors. Of the Cambridgeport Bank (now a National Bank), he was the Cashier for about seven years, its President three years, and one of its Directors from 1857 until his decease.

In addition to these secular labors, Mr. Paige devoted his

evenings to the preparation of his "Commentary on the New Testament." The first of the six volumes was published in 1844; the last, in 1870. This work has been the standard Commentary in his denomination, and is still in demand.

In the year 1850, in recognition of Mr. Paige's acquirements and literary labors, Harvard College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Amidst his many engagements and studies, he found time also to prosecute historical and genealogical investigations. In 1838 he delivered the historical discourse at the centennial commemoration of the incorporation of Hardwick. He had then begun a systematic collection of materials for a history of that town, but this work was not completed until after the lapse of forty years. While holding the office of clerk of Cambridge, Mr. Paige became deeply interested in the history of that ancient town; and at the suggestion of a member of this Society, the late Governor Emory Washburn, he made a careful exploration of the records in his custody, supplementing this research by a thorough examination of the records of the old parishes, the records and files of the Courts, and the State archives in Boston. The "History of Cambridge" was published in 1877, and the "History of Hardwick" in 1883. Besides the historical narrative, each of these volumes contains a very full and carefully compiled "Genealogical Register" of the early settlers and their descendants. These volumes are, in the most essential respects, models of what a town history should be. They contain the most important information obtainable from the sources then open to the author, and this is presented in a clear and concise narrative. By his habit of careful research, his perfect honesty and freedom from prejudice, Mr. Paige was well fitted for this task. In the estimation of those most competent to pass judgment, these volumes are authorities. But they are something more than authorities. They not only instruct;

they inspire. Their educational value was happily set forth by President Eliot of Harvard University in his recent address to the assembled school-children of Cambridge. "I trust," he said, "that all of you study faithfully Paige's History of Cambridge. Nobody deserves the privilege of growing up in this city who does not make himself familiar with that book. It is an epitome of the history, not only of this town, but of a good many other Puritan towns. It fills this place with memories of by-gone scenes and deeds which were precious to the people of those times, and are precious still to us, their descendants or successors."

Mr. Paige was prominently connected with the Masonic fraternity. He became a mason in 1824, and was Master of Lodges in Hardwick and Cambridge, successively. In 1826, he was elected an Eminent Commander of Knights Templars. In the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, he held the office of Grand Steward in 1849-50, of Grand Deacon in 1851, and of Deputy Grand Master in 1852, 1853 and 1854. This last appointment made him a member *ad vitam* of the Grand Body,—a relation which he cherished with much pleasure. In 1861, he became a member of the Supreme Council; was its Secretary two years, and Secretary of State three years. He had for many years been the representative of the Supreme Council of Belgium in the Supreme Council 33° of the Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States. At his decease, he was the oldest Past Commander of Knights Templars in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and the oldest member of the Grand Lodge.

Mr. Paige was one of the Representatives of Cambridge in the General Court in 1878 and 1879.

He became a member of the Board of Trustees of Tufts College in 1860, and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1876. Previous to becoming a Trustee, he served on committees for laying the foundations of this institution and arranging

its curriculum of studies. At the time of his death, he was the senior Trustee, not only in years, but in length of service. He received from this College in 1861 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the dormitory of its Divinity School is named in his honor—"Paige Hall." His gifts to the College during his life amounted to five thousand dollars. He bequeathed to it two thousand dollars, to establish a scholarship. He also bequeathed to the town of Hardwick his library and the sum of ten thousand dollars towards the foundation of a Public Library, on certain conditions—failing which, his library is bequeathed to the "Ladies' Free Library Association" of Hardwick, and the ten thousand dollars is to become the property of the Trustees of Tufts College.

Dr. Paige was elected a member of this Society, October 21, 1878. He became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1844, of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society—being its first elected member—in 1845, an honorary member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity in 1876, and of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1877. He was, also, a corresponding member of other historical societies.

He was married four times. His first wife was Clarinda, daughter of Ezekiel Richardson of Brookfield. She died in 1833. His second wife, Abby R., daughter of Joseph Whittemore of Charlestown, died in 1843. Lucy, his third wife, was a daughter of Barnabas Comins of Charlton, and widow of Solomon Richardson of Brookfield. She died in 1864. He had five children, all of whom have deceased. His fourth wife, who survives him at the age of ninety, was the widow of the Hon. David T. Brigham of Keokuk, Iowa, daughter of Robert M. Peck, and granddaughter of the Hon. Joseph Allen of Worcester. She is also a grandniece of Samuel Adams, the Revolutionary leader and patriot.

The later years of Dr. Paige's life were passed in com-

parative retirement ; but he was never idle. He continued to be actively interested in the several fraternal societies of which he was a member, and in the religious and educational institutions of his denomination. Respected and trusted by his fellow-citizens of every religious body and of all political parties, his counsel and coöperation were sought in the efforts made, happily with a large degree of success, to promote the good government and general welfare of Cambridge. For many years he was regular in his attendance at the meetings of the historical societies. For the last four or five years his attendance was necessarily less frequent. His communications whenever present, and his letters when he was compelled to be absent, gave, even to the last, no indication of decay in his mental powers. His large correspondence, his reading of historical and kindred books, and unflinching interest in public events, furnished ample employment for his mind. He knew what was transpiring in foreign lands and in the world about him, and he also knew the chief contents of the monthlies and quarterlies. Surrounded by his carefully selected library, and by pieces of furniture and other relics that had descended to him from his ancestors, he read—read without glasses—and made copious notes, to the end of life.

Those who knew Dr. Paige only as a citizen, with his quiet, dignified and refined manners and gentle spirit, were in a large measure strangers to his reserved force, his capacity for concentrated thought, and the deep and strong currents of his emotional nature. To those who were honored with his intimate friendship in his own home, when the doors were shut and the curtains drawn, he disclosed his abounding humor, the warmth and generosity of his heart, the sweetness, purity, and elevation of his nature. He also gave evidence, in his unpretentious way, of the fulness and accuracy of his knowledge of history, both ancient and modern, and his extraordinary memory. He seemed to have forgotten nothing that he had read or

witnessed. His conversation was enlivened by a great fund of illustrative reminiscences; but he was always a gentleman and dealt kindly with the reputations of his contemporaries and of the dead. He abhorred that habit which reveals itself in the repetition of scandal, and in efforts to excite mirth over the weaknesses and eccentricities of other men. Of such "reminiscences" Dr. Paige could not be the author or the disseminator. Nor was this reserve the dictate of mere prudence. We might rather apply to him the remark made by Paul de Rémusat concerning M. Thiers, and say that this reserve was not an "incident of his life," but "was a trait of his character."

Born and bred among a people who were separated from the Puritan epoch more by a long interval of years than by any substantial difference in spirit or in principles, Dr. Paige inherited their quick and clear apprehension of truth and justice, their unswerving loyalty to whatever they regarded as the imperative demand of duty. But his Puritanism was ameliorated by his warm sympathies for his fellow-men, a tolerant disposition, and a serene faith in the infinite love of his Divine Master.

He was conservative in respect to established principles in the sphere of politics and government, and in the sphere of ethics and conduct. At the same time, he was unaffectedly hospitable to every real advance in science and Christian philosophy, as he was, likewise, to every rational effort for reform in civil and in social life.

Looking back over his long life, he took delight in noting the upward progress of the race. He believed in the "Brotherhood of Man," and saw with joy every step gained towards the conciliation of the nations.

In his nearer view, he looked for the best results from the average man. He saw how, under the coöperating influences of wise laws and good government, of peaceful and useful industries, of the culture that comes from the schools and the wide diffusion of the products of the print-

ing-press, and more than all, under the benign influence of religious institutions and inculcations,—the average man is advancing to a plane higher than that occupied by his predecessors. And this advance, although it might be interrupted and delayed by periods of reaction, he believed would continue. Hence he was never disturbed by sudden gusts of folly and fanaticism, of social and political passion. Hence he could not be a “prophet of evil,” nor, like Carlyle, a hero-worshiper. He approved the saying of the late Sir John Seeley, that hero-worship is the natural issue of “despair of society.” It seemed to him “a sign of pessimism,” as another writer had said, “just as pessimism in turn is a sign either of epicureanism, or of impatience.” His hopefulness saved him from impatience; his Christian faith furnished a firm basis for his recognition of “a vast providential law of secular progress,” and so saved him from despair.

To Dr. Puig was granted an ideal old age, which was passed in a community where everybody was his friend, eager to show him tokens of reverent regard, and during all which he was ministered to by a loyal and devoted wife—a playmate and schoolmate of his boyhood days, the companion of the last thirty years of his life. The end came after only a few days of serious illness—his vision undimmed, his mind unclouded, his Faith unshaken, his resignation perfect.

A. H. H.

For the Council,

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL.

TWENTY UNSETTLED MILES IN THE NORTHEAST
BOUNDARY.

BY THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL.

For nearly three hundred years, and almost without cessation, there has raged a conflict of jurisdiction over territory lying near to what is known as the Northeast Boundary of the United States. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, together with the Buchanan-Packenham treaty of 1846, settled all outstanding differences with Great Britain in the matter of boundaries, and few people are aware that there is an important failure in these and earlier treaties, to describe and define *all* of the line which extends from ocean to ocean and fixes the sovereignty of the adjacent territory. From the mouth of the St. Croix River to the ocean outside of West Quoddy Head is a distance of about twenty-one miles, if the most direct route through Lubec Channel be taken. Somewhere, from the middle of the river at its mouth to a point in the ocean about midway between the island of Campobello and Grand Menan, the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick must go, and, inferentially, for about one mile of this distance it is tolerably well fixed. But this is only an inference from the generally accepted principle that where two nations exercise jurisdiction on opposite sides of a narrow channel or stream of water, the boundary line must be found somewhere in that stream. That this has not been a universally accepted principle, however, will appear later. Throughout the remaining twenty miles, the territory under the jurisdiction of the United States is separated from that under the dominion of

Great Britain by a long, irregularly shaped estuary, almost everywhere more than a mile in width and over a large part of its length opening into Passamaquoddy Bay and other extensive arms of the sea. This large body of water, with an average depth of twenty-five fathoms and everywhere navigable for vessels of the largest size, flows with the alternations of the tides, the rise and fall of which is here eighteen to twenty feet, now north, now south, with a current in many places as swift as five and six miles per hour. Nothing like a distinct channel or "thread of stream" exists, and it can in no way be likened to or regarded as a river. When once the mouth of the St. Croix is reached, the boundary line is defined by the treaty of 1783 to be the middle of that river, up to its source, but literally, as well as figuratively, we are at sea as to its location from that point to the open ocean. It is the purpose of this paper to give some account of the circumstances which gave rise to such a curious omission; the incidents which led to a diplomatic correspondence and convention relating to the matter, in 1892, between the two governments interested; and the attempt which was made during the two or three years following the convention to determine and mark the missing boundary.

The present controversy really had its beginning nearly three hundred years ago. Up to the end of the 16th century, not much attention had been given by European colonists to the northeastern coast of America, although it had been visited by Cabot before the beginning of that century. The coast was tolerably well known, however, and it had been explored to some extent by both English and French, who were alive to the importance of the extensive fishing and other interests which it represented. In 1603, the King of France (Henry IV.) made the famous grant to De Monts of all the territory in America between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, thus furnishing a beautiful example of the

definition of a most uncertain quantity in a most certain and exact manner, an example which later boundary-line makers might wisely have followed. The Atlantic coast-line covered by this extensive charter, extends from a point considerably below Long Island to another point on Cape Breton Island and includes all of Nova Scotia. In the spring of 1604, De Monts sailed for his new domain, to which the name Acadia had been given, carrying with him Champlain as pilot. After landing on the southern coast of what is now known as Nova Scotia, he sailed around Cape Sable to the northward, entered the Bay of Fundy, discovered and named the St. John River, and afterward entered Passamaquoddy Bay, and ascended a large river which came into the bay from the north. A little distance above its mouth, he found a small island, near the middle of the stream, which at that point is nearly a mile and a half wide. As this island appeared easy of defence against the natives, he determined to make a settlement there, and proceeded to the erection of buildings, fortifications, *etc.* A few miles above the island, the river was divided into two branches nearly at right angles to the main stream, and the whole so resembled a cross, that the name "St. Croix" was given to the new settlement, and the same name came, afterward, to be applied to the river. The subsequent unhappy fate of this first attempt to plant the civilization of Europe upon the northern coast of America is so well known that further reference is unnecessary. This most interesting spot is now partly occupied by the United States Government as a lighthouse reservation, about one-third of the island having been purchased for that purpose. The St. Croix River lighthouse, carrying a fixed white and 30-sec. white flash-light of the fifth order, now stands where in 1605 stood the stone house and palisade of the dying Frenchmen, who found in disease a worse enemy than the aborigines. The area of the whole is only a few acres, and it has apparently wasted away a good deal since the French

settlement, relics of which are occasionally found even at this day. The island has borne various names, that first given having long since attached itself to the river. On modern Government charts, it is known as Dochet's Island, derived, doubtless, from Doucet's, one of its early names, but it is, perhaps, more generally known as Neutral Island. The significance of its discovery and settlement as affecting the question in hand, will appear later.

Very shortly after the grant of the French King in 1603, King James of England issued a charter to all of the territory in America extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, included between the thirty-fourth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, covering and including the previous grant of the French King, and thus setting fairly in motion the game of giving away lands without consideration of the rights or even claims of others, in which the crowned heads of Europe delighted to indulge for a century or more. Colonization was attempted, and now one power, now another, was in the ascendant. Occasional treaties in Europe arrested petty warfare on this side, and out of it all came a general recognition of the St. Croix River as the boundary between the French possessions and those of the English. It is impossible and would be improper to go into these historical details, most of which are so generally known. It is only important to note that the province known as Nova Scotia by the one nation, as Acadia by the other, after various vicissitudes became the property of the English, and that it was assumed to be separated from the province of Massachusetts Bay by the river St. Croix.

While the latter province remained a colony, loyal to the King, and the former a dominion of the Crown, there was naturally no dispute over boundary lines. In the provisional peace treaty of 1782, between the United States and Great Britain, and in the definitive treaty of peace in 1783, it is declared that in order that "all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the

boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries," and in this embodiment of peaceful intent is to be found the origin of international controversies which lasted more than a half a century, and which were often provocative of much bitterness on both sides. The phrase in which reference is made to the line under consideration is as follows: "East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source." During the last days of the Revolutionary War many who had been loyal to the King during its continuance fled from the Colonies to Nova Scotia, and naturally they were not much in favor among those who had risked all in the founding of a new republic. It was believed by them that the loyalists were encroaching on the territory rightfully belonging to the province of Massachusetts, and even before the definitive treaty of peace had been proclaimed, Congress had been appealed to to drive them away from their settlement and claim what was assumed to be the property of the United States of America. There at once developed what proved to be one of the most interesting controversies in the history of boundary lines. It was discovered that although the St. Croix River had long served as a boundary, "between nations and individuals," its actual identity was unknown. The treaty declared that the line of demarcation between the two countries should be "drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy," but it was found that there were several rivers debouching into this bay and that several of them had been, at one time or another, known as the St. Croix. In accordance with time-honored diplomatic practice, the English were for taking the most westerly of all these, and the Americans contended with much vigor and no small amount of justice that it was the most easterly. The St. John, a large river emptying into the Bay of Fundy, had

been so long and so well known that it was out of the question. There remained three considerable streams, which, beginning with that farthest east, were known as the Magaguadavic, or popularly at the present day, the "Magadavy," the Passamaquoddy and the Cobscook, all pouring their waters into the Passamaquoddy Bay.

In the Grenville-Jay Treaty of 1794, the settling of this dispute is provided for in an agreement to appoint three commissioners, one each to be named by the respective governments and the third to be selected and agreed upon by these two, whose duty it was to "decide what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty," and to declare the same, with particulars as to the latitude and longitude of its mouth and its source, and the decision of these commissioners was to be final. In a supplementary treaty of 1798, this commission was relieved from the duty of determining latitude and longitude, having, for some reason or other, found difficulties in the same, or, possibly, recognizing the absurdity of defining a boundary in two distinct and independent ways. It was not until 1798 that the commissioners made their report. As is usual, indeed, almost universal in diplomatic affairs, it represented a compromise. There seems to be little doubt that the river which was called St. Croix at the time of the negotiation of the treaty of peace in 1783 was really the most easterly river or the "Magadavy," this being the testimony of the commissioners, Adams, Jay and Franklin. But at the same time it cannot be denied that the stream finally accepted as the St. Croix was the real river of that name, referred to in the traditions and treaties of two centuries, and the discovery of the remains of the French settlement on Dochet's Island quieted all doubt in the matter. England gained a decided advantage by the not-unheard-of proceeding of adhering to the letter of the treaty rather than to its spirit.

But the report of the commission of 1798 fell far short

of terminating the boundary-line controversy. The identity of the St. Croix River was fixed and its mouth and source determined, but from the beginning of the line in the middle of the river there were still twenty miles before the open ocean was reached. Along this stretch of almost land-locked water were numerous islands, several of them large and valuable, and on some of them important settlements had already been made. The Commissioners of 1794 were urged to continue the line to the sea, thus settling the sovereignty of these islands and ending the dispute. They declined to do so, however, on account of a lack of jurisdiction, as they believed, and it was not then thought that these subordinate problems would be difficult of solution. As a matter of fact, Great Britain claimed dominion over all of these islands and exercised authority over most of them, except Moose Island, upon which was the vigorous American town of Eastport. A treaty was actually arranged in 1803 between Lord Hawkesbury and Rufus King in which the question of the extension of the boundary line to the open sea was agreed upon and in a most curious way. It was declared that the boundary line should proceed from the mouth of the St. Croix and through the middle of the channel between Deer Island and Moose Island (which was thus held by the United States) and Campobello Island on the west and south round the eastern part of Campobello to the Bay of Fundy. This would apparently give the island of Campobello to the United States; but it was especially declared that all islands to the north and east of said boundary, *together with the island of Campobello*, should be a part of the Province of New Brunswick. The curious feature of this treaty, providing that an island actually included on the American side of the boundary line should remain in the possession of Great Britain, resulted from a provision of the treaty of 1783, which declared that all islands heretofore under the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia should remain

the property of Great Britain. It is also an admission of the fact that the *natural* extension of the boundary line is around the eastern end of Campobello, as described above; and while this treaty was never ratified, it is of great significance as proving the admission on the part of the English, that the natural boundary would include the island of Campobello in American territory.

During the war of 1812 matters remained in *statu quo*, and Moose Island (Eastport) continued to be regarded as American, although Great Britain had yielded nothing of her claims. Finally, just as peace had been declared, an armed English force appeared before the town and compelled its surrender. This was undoubtedly to gain that possession, which is nine of the ten points, before the meeting of the Commission at Ghent; and in the discussion which afterward took place, the British Commissioners claimed absolute and complete ownership of Moose Island and others near by. To this the Americans would not yield; but they finally gave way to the extent of allowing continued possession until commissioners, to be appointed under the treaty, could investigate and decide the question. Thus the boundary line was thrown into the hands of another commission, which was again unfortunate in not being clothed with sufficient power to definitely fix it. Indeed, the importance and desirability of considering the extension of the boundary line to the sea does not seem to have been realized, the commissioners being restricted in their duties to the determination of the sovereignty of the several islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. The report of this commission was made in November, 1817. As this decision has a most important bearing on the matter under consideration, it will be well to quote its exact language. The Commissioners agreed "that Moose Island, Dudley Island and Frederick Island, in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, do and each of them does belong to the United States of America; and we have also decided, and

do decide, that all other islands and each and every one of them, in the said Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is a part of the Bay of Fundy, and the Island of Grand Menan in the said Bay of Fundy, do belong to his said Britannic Majesty, in conformity with the true intent of said second article of said treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three." A very superficial examination of this decision reveals the possibility of a decided advantage to Great Britain in consequence of its wording, an advantage doubtless foreseen and foresought by the more shrewd and accomplished diplomatists by whom that nation was represented in this instance, as in almost every other controversy with this country. Here is a group of scores of islands, lying in an inland sea, separating the two countries. It is true that the sovereignty of one or two of the most important is apparently determined by the treaty of 1783, but on this the arguments were almost equally strong on both sides. In any event it would have been easy, and infinitely better to have drawn a line through the Bay, from the mouth of the river to the open sea, and to have declared that all islands on one side of that line should belong to Great Britain and all on the other side to the United States. Had this been done, much subsequent dispute would have been avoided. With much ingenuity, however (as it seems to me), the American Commission was induced to accept three islands, definitely named and pointed out, as their share, while the Englishmen, with characteristic modesty, contented themselves with everything left. Of the sovereignty of Moose, Dudley and Frederick Islands, there was hardly room for discussion, notwithstanding the three or four years' occupancy of the town of Eastport by British troops after the War of 1812. Our being worsted in the matter, as we unquestionably were, is to be attributed to the general indifference of the great majority of our people to the future value of outlying territory, the resources of which have not yet been

explored. This unfortunate indifference is quite as general today as it was a century ago, and is in marked contrast with the policy of our English ancestors.

It is important to note that this partition of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, unfair as it unquestionably was, gave no definition of the boundary line from the mouth of the St. Croix to the sea, except inferentially. In the absence of description it must be inferred that the boundary is to be drawn so as to leave on one side all territory admitted to be American and on the other all admitted to be British. For a distance of about a half a mile the island of Campobello lies so close to the American shore that a channel, known as Lubec Channel, not more than a thousand feet in width, separates the two countries, and the thread, or deepest axis of this channel might well define the boundary. For the remaining score of miles, however, as has already been explained, the estuary is too wide, its depth too great and too uniform to afford any physical delimitation, except that based on equal division of water areas.

This ill-defined, or rather undefined boundary line has so remained for nearly eighty years. It is true that government chart-makers, both English and American, have often indicated by dotted lines their own ideas as to its whereabouts, but they have not been consistent, even with themselves, except as to making Lubec Channel a part of it, and they have had no authority except that of tradition. There has been no small amount of commercial activity among the settlements on both sides of the Bay, and a considerable proportion of the population have been, at one time or another, engaged in fishing. The customs laws of both countries, and especially the well-established fisheries regulations of the Canadians, and the activity of their fisheries police, have led to various assumptions as to the location of the boundary by one of the interested parties and to more or less tacit admission by the other. It happens that

the greater part of the best fishing-grounds in the immediate vicinity of the town of Eastport is distinctly within Canadian waters, so that most of the trespassing has been done by the Americans. This has resulted in a great development of Canadian police activity, which necessarily implies assumption as to the existence and whereabouts of the boundary. The continued readiness to claim that American fishermen were trespassers, accompanied occasionally by actual arrest and confiscation, naturally led to a gradual pushing of the assumed boundary towards the American side; and there is no doubt that during the past twenty-five years, the people on that side have acquiesced in an interpretation of the original treaty which was decidedly unfavorable to their own interests. On the other hand, from Lubec Channel to the sea, through Quoddy Roads, a condition of things just the reverse of this seems to have existed. Here certain fishing-rights and localities have been stubbornly contended for and successfully held by Americans, although the territory involved, is, to say the least, doubtful. In the matter of importation of dutiable foreign goods into the United States, there existed for many years an easy liberality among the people whose occupation at one time was largely that of smuggling, for which the locality offers so many facilities. It is plain that this condition of things would give rise to no great anxiety about the uncertainty of the boundary line, although in one or two instances the activity (no doubt thought pernicious) of the Customs officers resulted in disputes as to where the jurisdiction of one country ended and that of the other began; and in at least one notable case, to be referred to at some length later, this question was adjudicated upon by the United States courts.

The question was not seriously considered by the two governments, however, from the time of the treaty of Ghent to the year 1892. It is not an uncommon belief that this part of the boundary line was considered in the famous

Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842; and many people have unjustly held Webster responsible for the continued possession by Great Britain of the island of Campobello, which, by every rule of physiographic delimitation, ought to belong to the United States. But, as already recited, the sovereignty of this island was settled in 1817, and practically so in the original treaty of 1783. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty was apparently intended to settle the last outstanding differences between Great Britain and the United States in the matter of boundary lines, but disputes relating to them seem difficult to quiet. The treaty of 1842 carried the line only as far as the Rocky Mountains, and another in 1846 was necessary for its extension to the Pacific. Examining both of these in the light of today, there can be no doubt of the fact that the United States was seriously at fault in yielding, as she did, her rightful claims at both ends of the great trans-continental line. Enormous advantages would be hers today, if she had not so yielded; and her only excuse is that at the time of negotiation the territory involved did not seem of material value, at least when compared with her millions of acres then undeveloped.

In all of these controversies nothing was said of the little stretch of undefined boundary in Passamaquoddy Bay, and it is quite probable that those who had to do with such matters were quite unaware of its existence.

On July 16th, 1891, the Canadian cruiser, *Dream*, doing police duty in those waters, seized seven fishing-boats, owned and operated by citizens of the United States, while they were engaged in fishing at a point near what is known as Cochran's Ledge, in Passamaquoddy Bay, nearly opposite the city of Eastport, Maine. It was claimed by Canadian authorities that the crews of these boats were engaged in taking fish in Canadian waters. On the other hand, the owners of the boats seized contended that they were well within the jurisdiction of the United States at

the time of the seizure, and there was much interest in the controversy which followed. The matter was referred to the Department of State, where it became evident that future conflict of authority and jurisdiction could be avoided only by such a marking of the boundary line as would make the division of the waters of the Bay unmistakable.

Accordingly, in Article II. of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain, concluded at Washington, on July 22, 1892, it is agreed that each nation shall appoint a Commissioner, and that the two shall "determine upon a method of more accurately marking the boundary line between the two countries in the waters of Passamaquoddy Bay in front of and adjacent to Eastport in the State of Maine, and to place buoys and fix such other boundary marks as they may deem to be necessary." The phrasing of this Convention furnishes in itself, a most excellent example of how a thing ought not to be done. There is no doubt that a large majority of the boundary-line disputes the world over, are due to the use of faulty descriptions involving hasty and ill-considered phraseology. We are particularly liable to this sort of thing in the United States, by reason of the fact that most of our diplomatic affairs are too often conducted by men of little experience and no training, and who are unaccustomed to close criticism of the possible interpretation of phrases and sentences relating to geographical subjects. A treaty of this kind is usually satisfactory to both parties when entered into, and it is only at a later period, when it must be interpreted, that one or the other of them is likely to find that it is capable of a rendering and an application very different from what had been thought of at the time. Innumerable examples of this looseness of language might be given if necessary, but it is important to call attention to the inherent weakness of the document now under consideration. The first phrase, requiring the commissioners "to determine upon a method of

more accurately marking the boundary line" implies that it was already marked in some unsatisfactory manner, and it implies still further, that such a boundary line exists, neither of which assumptions is correct. As a consequence of this erroneous hypothesis, the description of the part of the line to be marked, namely, that in front of and adjacent to Eastport, is vague and inadequate, and, indeed, there is nowhere a hint of a recognition of the real facts.

Under this convention, Hon. W. F. King, of Ottawa, Canada, was appointed commissioner on the part of Great Britain, and the writer of this paper represented the United States.

The commissioners were immediately confronted with the fact that they were expected to mark a boundary line which really did not exist and never had existed; but by a liberal interpretation of that part of the convention in which it was agreed that they were "to place buoys or fix such other boundary marks as they may determine to be necessary," they found a basis on which to proceed to the consideration of the question. Evidently the just and fair principle according to which the boundary might be drawn, was that which, as far as was practicable, left equal water-areas on both sides. There was no other solution of the problem clearly indicated by the physics of the estuary or the topography of the shores. Furthermore, there is a precedent for adopting this principle, in the treaty of 1846, in which the extension of the boundary from the point of intersection of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude with the middle of the channel between Vancouver Island and the Continent, to the Pacific Ocean, is along the middle of the Strait of Fuca. This was agreed to by both sides; and also, that the boundary line should consist, in the main, of straight lines, because of the impossibility of marking a curved line on the water, or indicating it clearly by shore signals; that the number of these straight lines should be

as small as possible, consistent with an approximately equal division of the water area. In view of the great desirability of fixing the line for the whole distance, from the mouth of the St. Croix River to West Quoddy Head, the commissioners tentatively agreed to so interpret the words "adjacent to Eastport," as to include the entire twenty miles, thus hoping to definitely settle a controversy of a hundred years' standing. Proceeding on these principles, the whole line was actually laid down on a large scale chart of the region at a meeting of the commission, in Washington, in March, 1893, with the exception of a distance of a little over half a mile, extending north from a point in the middle of Lubec Channel. The omission of this part in the Washington agreement was due to the existence of a small island about a quarter of a mile from the entrance to the channel, now known as "Pope's Folly," but early in the century known as "Green" Island and also as "Mark" Island. The sovereignty of this island has been almost from the beginning a matter of local dispute. It contains barely an acre of ground, and except for possible military uses, it has practically no value. Its location is such, however, as to form a stumbling block in the way of drawing a boundary line, which, if laid down with a reasonable regard to the principles enunciated above, would certainly throw it on the side of the United States, while a line so drawn as to include it in Canadian waters would be unscientific and unnatural. It was agreed to postpone further consideration of this question until the meeting of the commissioners in the field for the purpose of actually establishing the line, which meeting occurred in July, 1893.

Nearly two months were occupied in the surveys necessary to the establishment of the ranges agreed upon and in the erection of the shore signals. It was agreed that the line should be marked by buoys at the turning-points, but as the strong tidal currents which there prevail promised to make it difficult, if not impossible, to hold these in their

places it was determined to mark each straight segment of the boundary by prominent and lasting range-signals so that it could be followed without regard to the buoys, and cross-ranges were also established by means of which the latter could be easily replaced if carried away. Permanent natural objects were in a few instances used as range signals, but for the most part they were stone monuments, conical in form, solidly built, from five feet to fifteen feet in height, and painted white whenever their visibility at long range was thus improved. At the close of the work, first-class can-buoys were placed at the principal turning-points, although with little hope of their remaining in place. As a matter of fact, it was found impossible to keep in place more than three of the six or seven put down, but, fortunately, these are at the most important points in the line. As already stated, the commissioners had failed to agree, in Washington, as to the direction of the line around Pope's Folly Island, and on further investigation of the facts they were not drawn together on this point. As the work in the field progressed, other important differences developed which finally prevented the full accomplishment of the work for which the commission had been appointed. A brief discussion of these differences will properly form a part of this paper.

As to jurisdiction over Pope's Folly Island, the claim of the British Commissioner is, at first blush, the strongest. It rests upon the report of the commissioners appointed under the treaty of Ghent for the partition of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. It will be remembered that in this report three, only, of these islands were declared to belong to the United States, and Pope's Folly was not one of them. As all others were to be the property of Great Britain it would seem that the sovereignty of this small island was hers beyond doubt. There is, however, very distinctly, another aspect of the question. In the first place, it is highly probable the Commissioners under

the treaty of Ghent restricted their consideration and action to those islands the domain of which was and had been actually in dispute. The language of the treaty distinctly implies this and the language of the report closely follows that of the treaty. It is true that reference is had to "the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy," *etc.*, but it is further said that "said islands are claimed as belonging to His Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of and previous to the aforesaid treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, within the limits of the Province of Nova Scotia"; for by that treaty all of the important islands of the group would have come to the United States, had not exception been made of all then or previously belonging to this province. Obviously, then, the partition commissioners would consider only those for which such a claim could be set up. There is also good reason to believe that the island called Pope's Folly may not have been considered by the commission, on account of its trifling importance. It is a significant fact that there are many other small islands in the bay, some of them much larger and more important than this, of which no mention was made by the commission, yet Great Britain has never claimed or even suggested that they were rightfully British territory. Their sovereignty was probably not even thought of by the commission. In short, a literal interpretation of their report is not admissible and it has never been so claimed. Its phraseology is another example of hasty diplomatic composition, into the acceptance of which the Americans may have been led by their more skilful opponents.

At the time this question was under consideration, the region was sparsely settled, many of the islands having no inhabitants at all; and the whole dispute was thought, at least on our side, to be a matter of comparative little importance. It was natural, therefore, that in selecting those islands which were to belong to the United States,

only the most important would be thought of, it being understood that geographical relationship should determine jurisdiction over many small islands not named and doubtless not thought worthy of enumerating at that time. But if it could be shown that the island was at the time of the treaty of 1783, or had been previously, a dependency of the Province of Nova Scotia, the claim of the British Commissioner would be good. On this point I believe the evidence is entirely with us. It goes to show that so far as there has been any private ownership of the island it has been vested in American citizens. At the time of my investigation, in the summer of 1893, I had the pleasure of a long interview with the owner of this little island, Mr. Winslow Bates, who was born in the year 1808, in which year Pope's Folly was deeded to his father by one Zeba Pope. A copy of this deed I obtained from the records at Machias, but I was unable to find any trace of an earlier proprietor than Mr. Pope. It was deeded to Mr. Bates under the name of "Little Green Island"; but there is evidence that Pope had erected upon it a house and a wharf, the uselessness of which had suggested to his neighbors the name by which it is now known. Bates, the father of my informant, continued in peaceful possession of the island until the British forces came into control at Eastport at the close of the war of 1812. In August, 1814, David Owen, of Campobello, posted a placard proclamation in the town of Eastport, announcing his assertion of ownership of this island. It was hardly posted, however, before it was torn down by an indignant American patriot, probably Elias Bates himself, for it is now in the possession of Mr. Winslow Bates. It shows the holes made by the tacks by which it was originally held and is a curious and valuable relic of those troublesome days in the history of Eastport. Backed by the British army, Owen took forcible possession of the island and removed the buildings to Campobello. The American

owner, Bates, procured a writ for the arrest of Owen, claiming damages to the extent of \$2,000. The writ was never served, as Owen was careful never to come within the jurisdiction of the Court, after the withdrawal of the British troops. After this it was in the continued occupancy of Americans; Bates pastured sheep on it, and Canadians who had attempted to erect a weir at the east end of the island were prevented from doing so by a warning from Winslow Bates, and did not further assert their claim. The island was incorporated into the town of Eastport, and when that town was divided it was included in that part known as Lubec. As long ago as 1823, the sovereignty of the island was adjudicated upon by the American courts, on the occasion of the confiscation near its shore, of "sundry barrels of rum" by alert Customs officers. Judge Ware made an elaborate decision, in which the whole case was admirably presented.¹

His construction of the Report of the Commission was "that it assigns to each party a title according to its possession, as it was held in 1812," and he finds that the island is within the domain of the United States.

If further evidence were necessary, it could be found in the early cartography of this region.

In a map entitled "A Map of Campobello and other Islands in the Province of New Brunswick, the property of Will Owen, Esq., sole surviving grantee, *etc.*, drawn by John Wilkinson, Agt., to Wm. Owen Esq., Campobello, 30th September, 1830," there is drawn a broken straight line extending from the southern end of Deer Island to the eastern point of Lubec Neck, which line is designated "Filium Aquae" which must be interpreted as meaning water line or boundary. Pope's Folly is on the American side of this line. Moreover, it is an historical fact that English and American vessels formerly exchanged cargoes

¹ Ware's Reports, 1823.

on such a line, not far from Eastport, which was assumed to be the boundary line. A British Admiral's chart of that region, dated 1848, shows a dotted line intended to represent the boundary, which runs to the eastward of Pope's Folly. Moreover, the principal ship channel is between the island and Campobello.

In the light of all of this evidence, and more of a similar character, it seems unreasonable to suppose that the Commission under the treaty of 1814 ever intended this island to be included in the general declaration "all other islands shall belong to His Britannic Majesty." According to all recognized geographical principles, to traditional ownership and continued possession, and to early and authoritative maps and charts, it is a part of the State of Maine. To deflect the boundary line so as to bring the island under British control, would distort it to an unreasonable degree, and would result in greatly increased difficulty and confusion in the administration of customs laws and regulations. Against all of this the British Commission could only set up a literal interpretation of the report of the Commissioners under the treaty of Ghent, to which the representative of the United States felt compelled to refuse assent.

Another difference of opinion, almost trivial in magnitude but suggestive in character, arose as soon as the range-marks defining the line as agreed upon in Washington had been actually located on the ground. Nearly opposite the city of Eastport there is rather a sharp change in the direction of this line, amounting to about $57^{\circ} 25'$. It was discovered that there was included in the angle at this point, on the side towards the United States, the better part of a shoal known as Cochran's Ledge, a locality much frequented by fishermen, and, indeed, the very spot on which the American fishermen had been arrested by the Canadian police in 1891. The result of this discovery was that the commissioner representing Canadian interests declared his

unwillingness to agree to the line as laid down at this point, and desired to introduce a new short line cutting off this angle so as to throw the ledge into Canadian waters.

In some measure growing out of this controversy was a third, relating to the line from Lubec Channel to the sea. For about half of this distance the channel now and for many years in use is a dredged channel, created and maintained at the expense of the United States. Through this it was proposed and agreed at Washington to run the boundary line. Previous to the making of this there was a more or less complete and satisfactory natural channel, through which all vessels passed. It was crooked, and was, for the most part, much nearer the Canadian shore than the present channel. It has now largely filled up and disappeared; the principal current having been diverted into the new channel. In running the boundary line through the latter a much more even and, in the judgment of the American Commissioner, a much more just division of the water area was secured, but it was discovered to have the locally serious disadvantage of throwing to the Canadian side certain fishing weirs which had been maintained practically in the same spot for many years and which were mostly owned and operated by American citizens, resident in the town of Lubec. It is true, as suggested in an earlier part of this paper, that their continued occupation had been stoutly resisted by the Canadians, and serious conflict had once or twice arisen. There was, of course, a certain amount of reason in demanding a line following the old channel, which undoubtedly was the only channel, when the original treaty was made. Adherence to the well-founded principle of equal division of water areas, however, was thought to be wiser and more just by the representative of the United States, even if it required the surrender of a few comparatively valueless fishing-privileges, the right to which was of very doubtful



Sketch Map of Passamaquoddy Bay showing proposed Boundary with alternate lines



origin. Those who thought they would suffer in this way made strong appeals to the Department of State and a claim for the old channel was afterwards embodied in the propositions made by the United States.

The differences between the Commissioners regarding the three points above referred to were the only differences that were at all serious, and these, it is believed, might have been removed had they enjoyed absolute freedom and full power of adjustment. Thus restricted, the Commissioners could not and did not come to an agreement. At their meeting on December 30th, 1894, the American Commissioner submitted three propositions, to any one of which he was willing to subscribe. The first proposed the entire line as originally laid down in Washington, with an additional section throwing Pope's Folly Island into the United States; the second suggested a literal interpretation of the Convention of July 22nd, 1892, restricting the marking to three lines "in front of and adjacent to Eastport"; the third recommended an agreement on portions of the line, with alternative propositions as to Pope's Folly and Lubec Channel, to be afterwards determined by such methods as the two governments might agree upon. None of these was acceptable to the British Commissioner and in turn he submitted five propositions, none of which was satisfactory to the representative of the United States. They all involved non-action as to Pope's Folly Island, but included action favorable to Canadian interests below Lubec.

At the last meeting, in April, 1895, it was finally agreed to disagree, and the preparation of a joint report, setting forth the principal lines of agreement and disagreement was undertaken. It was at last resolved, however, to report separately, and a full and detailed report of all operations was made by the American Commissioner and submitted to the Department of State.

What was actually accomplished by this joint Commission was the laying out in Washington of a rational

boundary line, extending over the entire twenty miles of undetermined boundary, and the actual erection on the ground of range-signals and monuments indicating this line. These still remain and, as a matter of fact, are quite generally accepted as authoritative in the immediate vicinity, thus making it every day easier for a future convention to fix definitely the direction of the boundary and thus quiet a dispute which has already continued a century longer than was necessary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1896.

The total of the fourteen funds shows a small increase over the amount reported a year ago. While the statement of the market value of the securities shows a reduction from that of last year, there is still an excess of \$7,000 over the amount standing on the books of the Treasurer. The balance to the credit of the Income Account is \$475.90.

Mrs. Samuel F. Haven and Mr. Francis H. Dewey have contributed ten dollars each toward the expense of book-plates for the books purchased with the income of the Haven and Dewey Funds. A book-plate has also been made for the volumes in the Benjamin F. Thomas alcove.

The detailed statement of the several Funds is as follows.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1896, was \$128,976.52. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,	\$33,121.83
The Collection and Research Fund,	18,341.52
The Bookbinding Fund,	5,944.76
The Publishing Fund,	25,748.74
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,	8,801.24
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	4,285.52
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,	1,043.05
The Salisbury Building Fund,	4,657.37
The Alden Fund,	1,019.86
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,201.86
The George Chandler Fund,	520.91
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	2,950.34
The George E. Ellis Fund,	10,747.68
Income Account,	475.90
Premium Account,	115.94

\$128,976.52

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$671.03.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year, ending October 1, 1896, is as follows :

DR.

1895.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$2,727.71
1896.	"	Income from investments to date,.....	7,510.04
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	355.00
"	"	Life membership,.....	50.00
"	"	From sale of books,.....	30.00
"	"	Mortgage notes paid,.....	4,900.00
"	"	From Mrs. S. F. Haven and F. H. Dewey (for book-plates),	20.00
			<hr/>
			\$15,592.75

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1896,.....	\$3,754.85
Publication of Proceedings,.....	1,162.12
Books purchased,.....	439.47
Incidental expenses,.....	353.84
For binding,.....	394.80
Insurance premium,.....	45.00
Work on building,.....	10.00
For book-plates,.....	30.30
Deposited in Savings Bank,.....	31.34
Invested in first Mortgage Notes,.....	8,700.00
	<hr/>
	\$14,921.72
Balance of cash October 1, 1896,.....	671.03
	<hr/>
	\$15,592.75

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 2, 1895,.....	\$38,334.33	
Income to October 1, 1896,	2,300.05	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	300.00	
From Life membership,.....	50.00	
From F. H. Dewey and Mrs. S. F. Haven, for book-plates,	20.00	
		<hr/>
	\$41,004.38	
Paid for salaries,.....	\$2,605.58	
Incidental expenses,.....	246.67	
Book-plates,.....	30.30	
		<hr/>
	\$2,882.55	
1896, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		<hr/>
		\$38,121.83

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$18,570.95	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	1,114.26	
	<hr/>	
	\$19,685.21	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,..	1,343.69	
	<hr/>	
1896, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,341.52

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$5,980.72	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	358.84	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,339.56	
Paid for binding,.....	394.80	
	<hr/>	
1896, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$5,944.76

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$25,387.60	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	1,523.26	
	<hr/>	
	\$26,910.86	
Paid on account of publications,	1,162.12	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$25,748.74

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$8,331.02	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	499.86	
	<hr/>	
	\$8,830.88	
Paid for books purchased,.....	29.64	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$8,801.24

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$4,042.95	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	242.57	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$4,285.52

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$1,110.31	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	66.62	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,176.93	
Paid for books,.....	133.88	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$1,043.05

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$4,403.18	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	264.19	
	<u>\$4,667.37</u>	
Paid on account of repairs,.....	10.00	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$4,657.37

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$1,025.02	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	61 50	
	<u>\$1,086.52</u>	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	66.66	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$1,019.86

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	300.00	
	<u>\$5,300.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	300.00	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$1,149.87	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	68.99	
	<u>\$1,218.86</u>	
Paid for books,	17.00	
Balance October 1, 1896,....		\$1,201.86

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$529.50	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	61.77	
	<u>\$591.27</u>	
Paid for books,.....	70.36	
Balance October 1, 1896,		\$520.91

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$2,789.50	
Income to October 1, 1896,.....	167.37	
	<u>\$2,956.87</u>	
Paid for books,.....	6.53	
Balance October 1, 1896,.....		\$2,950.34

1896.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 2, 1895,.....	\$10,208.33
Income to October 1, 1896.....	612.50
	<hr/> \$10,820.83
Paid for books,	73.15
Balance October 1, 1896,.....	<hr/> \$10,747.68
Total of the fourteen funds,.....	\$128,384.68
Balance to the credit of Income Account.....	475.90
Balance to the credit of Premium Account.....	115.94
	<hr/>
October 1, 1896, total,.....	128,976.52

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00 \$ 810.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00 3,300.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00 1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00 360.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00 900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00 412.50
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00 3,360.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00 600.00
15	North National Bank, Boston,.....	1,500.00 1,515.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,.....	300.00 321.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00 3,360.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00 5,122.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	2,200.00 2,200.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00 4,500.00
	Total of Bank Stock,.....	<hr/> \$23,200.00 \$28,100.50
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00 \$4,500.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500 00 900.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),.....	1,250.00 2,200.00
50	Washburn & Moen Mfg. Co.,.....	6,500.00 6,250.00
	BONDS.	
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	3,000.00 3,100.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	3,300.00 3,663.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,000.00 1,971.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,.....	10,147.50 10,147.50
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,.....	4,000.00 4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,.....	5,000.00 5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,.....	5,400.00 6,000.00
	Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,.....	2,000.00 1,750.00
	Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,....	5,604.86 5,604.86
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	52,000.00 52,000.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	403.13 403.13
	Cash in National Bank on interest,.....	671.03 671.03
		<hr/>
		\$128,976.52 \$136,261 02

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1896.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE.

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1896, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 19, 1896.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

On July 28, 1896, the remainder of our collection of minerals was delivered to Dr. Leonard P. Kinnicutt for the use of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, with the understanding that what the Institute does not retain will be sent to the Worcester Natural History Society. This is the final act in the distribution authorized by the Council September 24, 1892, which is explained in the librarian's report of April 24, 1895. And here I note the earlier action of the Council regarding the cabinet. On December 31, 1834, it was "voted that a Committee be chosen to report what disposition shall be made of the Printing Press presented by Mr. Thomas"; September 5, 1853, "voted to choose a Committee to consider the best mode of disposing of the Curiosities and Cabinet articles belonging to the Society. Chose Hon. Stephen Salisbury and Hon. Isaac Davis"; and March 23, 1884, "voted that the Library Committee be authorized to make exchanges of perishable articles, in their discretion, as most for the interest of the Society."

The present revival of interest in *Ex Libris* matters may serve a good as well as a doubtful purpose. It has led to the securing of Thomas, Haven and Dewey plates for use in the books received from them or bought with their funds. I recommend the addition of a George E. Ellis book-plate, to complete our collection, and that the design be that adopted for those above named. Our founder's library—the basis of our great collection—has added value in the fact that his plate appears in so many of its books. It is the Thomas coat of arms with the name Isaiah Thomas engraved below it. Its motto is "*Nec elatus nec defectus.*"

While this engraving has been attributed to Thomas Johnson, it is not unlikely that it is the work of Paul Revere, the friend and compatriot of Thomas. The Twichell lithograph was placed on all the books and articles received from Mrs. Twichell and her daughter Theolotia. The headline is "American Antiquarian Society," while near the bottom appears "Given in memory of Ginery Twichell." The design is three connected medallions. The centre and larger contains the head of Mr. Twichell, late in life, surrounded by the legend, "Ginery Twichell, Born 1811, Died 1883." The small medallion above represents Twichell the post-rider and bears the date 1846, while that of the same size below suggests his railroad service by the figure of a locomotive and the date 1848—1878. The Isaac Davis steel plate is in monogram form, "the gift of," *etc.*, appearing upon a scroll which crosses its face, the name of the Society, in heavy letters, surrounding the centre design. The beauty and simplicity of this plate so impressed Dr. Chandler that he ordered one of like design, the scroll being inscribed "From George Chandler, Worcester, Mass." The Thomas, Haven, and Dewey plates are practically alike, though each has a half-tone, mid-life portrait of the giver of the fund. The name of the Society is at the top and that of the fund at the bottom, while between are three slightly connected medallions. The upper is the seal of the Society with its motto, "*Nec poterit ferrum nec edux abolere vetustas*," and the date of incorporation—1812—upon the face of one of the temple steps. Below is the portrait of the giver, whose name, with year of birth and death, surrounds it. Alongside the seal and a little below, is the circle within which, partially obscured, a map of the western hemisphere indicates the special field which we aim to cover.

The usual announcement is made that bound copies of our Proceedings, Volume X., New Series, are ready for delivery. We wish to hear from members and corresponding

societies at a distance, whether the Proceedings sent by express at postage rates, reach them in better condition than by mail. While care is taken in their preparation, it is possible that the heavy envelope with rubber band would be preferable to the tied wrapper. It is of the first importance that our publications—which are now sent literally to the ends of the earth—should arrive in good order.

I note for indexing and thus for ready reference, that an article of a column's length entitled, "A Place for Research: Library of the American Antiquarian Society," appeared in the *Worcester Evening Gazette* of June 3, 1896. Though unsigned, it is known to have been written by one who has knowledge of our material as well as of our methods.

The engraved plate of Isaiah Thomas used in the second edition of his *History of Printing*, is marked "Sarah Goodrich Pinx't." It is to an error in the spelling of this name that reference is made by Mr. Hart, an authority in such matters, in the letter which follows:—

Philadelphia, *April 13, 1896.*

E. M. BARTON, ESQ.

My Dear Sir—I have your letter and the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, which are as interesting as usual. I notice an error on p. 257 of your report, in which you only follow the errors of many others. You refer to a miniature of Isaiah Thomas by Sarah Goodrich. Her name was not Goodrich but Goodridge. How the error originated I do not know, but on A. B. Durand's plate of Gilbert Stuart, in the National Port. Gall. 1833, after her miniature, he gives it Goodrich, and Dunlap in his readable but unreliable *History of the Arts of Design* follows in his wake, and so has almost every one since.

Sarah Goodridge was born in Templeton, Mass., February 5, 1788. She was a daughter of Ebenezer Goodridge and Beulah Childs, his wife. She early showed a fondness for art, but had no opportunity of developing it until, at the age of 24, she went to Boston to reside with her sister, the wife of Thomas Appleton, an organ builder. She soon began to paint a little in oil and later took up miniature

painting in which she made quite a success, and was deemed very accurate in her likenesses. She died in Boston, Dec. 28, 1853. Her best known picture is her portrait of Stuart, which, as said, was engraved by Durand. Of this miniature there are at least three known, one which belonged to Stuart's family and presented by the family to Mr. George R. Honey of Newport, R. I.; another in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; and a third recently presented to the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts, together with Miss Goodridge's own portrait by herself. Which of the Stuart miniatures is the original and which replicas is now not known, but Mr. Honey claims the honor for his picture and not without great show of reason, as it belonged to the sitter's family.

Pardon this long story to correct an unimportant name, but I thought it might interest you.

Very truly yours,

CHAS. HENRY HART.

From forty-seven members, one hundred and fifty-one persons not members, and one hundred and nineteen societies and institutions, in all three hundred and seventeen sources—the largest number yet reported—we have received since my last report eight hundred and sixteen books, fifty-seven hundred and fourteen pamphlets, one bound and two hundred and twenty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, thirteen volumes of manuscripts, three oil portraits, nineteen colored drawings, twenty-six lithographs, three photographs, two medals, two maps, one stamp, twenty-one book-plates, numerous posters, and articles for the cabinet; by exchange eighty-eight books and forty-four pamphlets; and from the bindery one hundred and nineteen volumes of newspapers and eighty-three volumes of magazines; making a total of eight hundred and fifty-two books, fifty-seven hundred and fifty-eight pamphlets, one hundred and twenty bound and two hundred and twenty-five volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

One of the most valuable contributions received since our last meeting, is that from our associate Samuel Jennison,

Esq., of Boston. It is the manuscript note-book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., Lawyer, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, from June 27, 1638, to July 29, 1641, which was published in 1885 as Volume VII. of our *Archæologia Americana*. While considering the claims of the Bar Association of Boston, of which he has long been a member, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Jennison, desires quietly to place the volume in our keeping. It was received by him from his father, Mr. Samuel Jennison, who died on March 11, 1860, after forty-six years of service to this Society, as librarian 1814—1825, treasurer 1829—1860, *etc.* Upon the cover he had written “Presented to Sam’l Jennison by E. W. R.” These are the initials of Edward W. Ridgway “the friend” mentioned in the printed preface to the note-book, who also gave Mr. Jennison a Hull letter-book. Mrs. Ridgway is said to have been a connection of the Sewalls. Mr. Jennison hopes to find memoranda with regard to these and other kindred documents which were taken from the Ridgway attic in Worcester or Boston before it was “cleared.” Our Worcester directories show that Mr. Ridgway was clerk, h. 2 Park St., 1845—1847; conductor, h. 2 Park St., 1848—1849; conductor, h. 18 High St., 1850—1852; freight-agent B. & W. R. R., h. 18 High St., 1853—1854; and freight-agent B. & W. R. R., bds. Trumbull St. 1855. The Boston directories record him as depot master, h. 1045 Washington St., 1856—1857; and passenger transportation agent, h. 1045 Washington St., 1858—1861. For further light upon the subject see Rev. Dr. Hale’s remarks in our Proceedings of October 21, 1885, and the librarian’s report of April 25, 1886.

The gift of another associate, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, referred to in our April Proceedings, is of special value. It is a photographic reproduction of the rare tract known as “The Association, or Non-importation Agreement of 1774.” It was accompanied by the following letter:—

New York, *April 27th, 1896.*

MY DEAR MR. HOAR :

Knowing your interest in everything relative to Roger Sherman, I have forwarded to you two photographic facsimiles, very slightly reduced in size, of an important state paper containing his name. This is an unique copy of the "Association" or non-importation agreement of 1774, now belonging to the New York Public Library, and bearing the autograph signatures of nearly all the delegates to the Continental Congress. One of the facsimiles is for you, and the other is intended for the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The following notes about its history may be of interest. The volume in which it was bound contains the printed Proceedings and Journals of the Congresses of 1774 and 1775, as preserved by one of the New Jersey delegates, Richard Smith, Esq., whose name is written in several places. Mr. Lenox bought it, I suppose, in 1857, judging by the date of a letter on the back of which he made a memorandum of the book's contents. About two years ago I removed it from the end of the volume and had it bound separately, because the two leaves with the signatures had been so badly folded that they were torn, and liable to further injury.

On the first page of the document is written the name of Richard Smith, with the date Oct^r. 22d, 1774, and at the end is a memorandum list, in the same hand, of the absentees on the 20th October, when the original engrossed copy was signed. This list is important for fixing the order of the different copies and official editions.

On the 30th of September, 1774, the Congress resolved, "That from and after the 10th day of September, 1775, the exportation of all Merchandise and every commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, ought to cease, unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time," and it was agreed, "That Mr. Cushing, Mr. Low, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Johnson, be a Committee to bring in a plan for carrying into effect the Non-Importation, Non-Consumption, and Non-Exportation resolved on." A plan was reported by the Committee on October 12th, and after sundry amendments by the Congress it was agreed to on the 18th, and ordered to be transcribed. On Thursday the 20th it

was signed by the forty-nine delegates then present.

The members absent on that occasion were Philip Livingston and John Herring of New York, John De Hart of New Jersey, Samuel Rhoads and George Ross of Pennsylvania, Caesar Rodney of Delaware, and Robert Goldsborough of Maryland. Caesar Rodney's name was written with the others on the 20th, by his direction, and the names of Philip Livingston, John De Hart, and George Ross were added before the adjournment of Congress on Wednesday the 26th. Three members did not sign at all, namely, John Herring, Samuel Rhoads, and Robert Goldsborough. The total number of signatures to the original of October 20th was therefore fifty-three, as may be seen in the folded facsimile opposite page 915 of Force's *American Archives*, fourth series, vol. 1. On the day of the signing the Congress ordered, "That this Association be committed to the press, and that one hundred and twenty copies be struck off."

The earliest issue of this edition seems to have escaped the notice of bibliographers. It is dated October 20th, and is printed on thick paper in nine pages, without a separate title, the space for the names at the end being left blank. Two copies are known to be extant. One is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, containing the signatures of forty-two delegates, and the other was Richard Smith's copy, which I have just mentioned. The latter contains forty-nine signatures, all but two of which were probably written on Friday, October 21st, because Peyton Randolph was absent on account of illness after that date. His name appears twice, first as president and then as a Virginia delegate, the latter being crossed out. Philip Livingston and John De Hart added their names on or before the 26th, for they were both present and signed the address to the King on that date. The names not in this copy, but which appear in the original, are those of George Ross, Caesar Rodney, Patrick Henry, Jun., and Edmund Pendleton.

On the 21st it was ordered that the Address to the People of Great Britain and the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies be immediately committed to the press, and on Saturday the 22d it was also ordered, "That the Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress as corrected,

be sent to the Press, and printed under the direction of Mr. Biddle, Mr. Dickinson and the Secretary."

The second issue of the Association was published on Monday, October 24th, and prefixed to it is a title-page that is not described in the bibliographies. The only copy I have seen is in the volume of printed Journals once owned by Richard Smith. It is as follows:—

Extracts | From the | Votes and Proceedings | of the
American Continental | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia
on the | 5th of September 1774. | Containing | an Asso-
ciation, an Address to the People | of Great-Britain, and
a Memorial | to the Inhabitants of the British | American
Colonies. | ——— | Published by order of the Congress. |
—— | Philadelphia: | Printed by William and Thomas
Bradford, | October 24th, M,DCC,LXXIV. |

On the back of the title is the following notice: "As the Congress is not yet dissolved, and their whole Proceedings cannot be published for some time; it was thought advisable forthwith to communicate as much thereof to the Public, as concerned the Restrictions on Commerce, and the reasons for such Restrictions." Then come ten copies of the Association, one after the other, each breaking off abruptly at the eighth page, the rest having evidently been cancelled. I am inclined to believe that this is the issue of eleven pages which includes the names, and that most of the copies were used for binding with the publication of October 27th, as described below. Excepting the signatures, all three issues are identical, having been printed from the same type, without resetting. The other pieces mentioned in the title do not appear at all.

The third issue appeared on October 27th, bound up with the bill of rights, addresses, etc., and it is this edition that is usually counted as the first, being the one from which were made the numerous reprints in other parts of the country. It has the following title:—

Extracts | From the | Votes and Proceedings | Of the
American Continental | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia
on the | 5th of September 1774. | Containing | The Bill
of Rights, a List of Griev- | ances, Occasional Resolves,
the | Association, an Address to the People | of Great-
Britain, and a Memorial | to the Inhabitants of the British |
American Colonies. | ——— | Published by order of the

Congress. | — | Philadelphia : | Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, | October 27th, M,DCC,LXXIV. | 8vo, pp. (4), 12, 11, 36.

The Association in eleven pages forms the second part of this collection, and has the sheet marks A in four leaves and B in two. There are only fifty-one names subscribed, the missing ones being Philip Livingston and John De Hart. This would seem to show that the list was printed as early as the 24th, or several days before the adjournment of the Congress.

The next official statement also forms a part of the same publication, of which the title and first twelve pages remain unchanged, only the Association, Address, and Memorial being reprinted. In this shape the pamphlet contains pp. (4), 23, 36, and sometimes supplementary pp. 37-50. There are also several varieties or combinations of the two editions. The Association fills pp. 13-23, and the date is changed from October 20 to October 24, but the number of signatures remains the same.

Early in November, 1774, the complete "Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress" was issued from the press of the Bradfords, and on pp. 68-77 the Association is printed with the date October 24, and for the first time with all of the fifty-three names.

No other publication of the Congress is more suggestive than these first fruits of its deliberations, which foreshadowed, in the second article, the long delayed abolition of slavery: "That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

I am, with high regards,

Yours Truly,

WILBERFORCE EAMES.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

The present use of the George E. Ellis fund is governed by the following action: In Council, April 28, 1895, on motion of Mr. Hoar, "Voted that the librarian be directed on the advice of the committee on the library, to prepare

and present a list of books of the value of not exceeding \$1,000, to be purchased from time to time from the income of the George E. Ellis fund." And on October 22, 1895: on motion of Mr. Davis, "Voted that the available income of the George E. Ellis fund for the coming year be carried to the Librarian's and General fund." On the same day, on motion of Mr. J. Evarts Greene, "Voted that any available income of the George E. Ellis fund, not exceeding \$1,000, may be employed by the Council for the purchase of books." The first appropriation made under the latter vote was for twenty-one family histories, which were purchased at unusually favorable rates. This important fund has begun its mission in the two departments named and we are thereby doubly reminded of the giver.

Our Recording Secretary, Mr. Charles A. Chase, who represented the Society at the laying of the memorial stone of the John Robinson Memorial Church, at Gainsborough, England, on June 29, 1896, forwarded to the library the various accounts of the celebration. Attention is therein called to the enforced absence of Vice-President Hoar, who was to have spoken for the State of Massachusetts. The order for the "Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers." 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1851, placed nearly a year ago, has but recently been filled.

The following letter of gift and greeting from Rev. Hugh S. Griffiths, Pastor of Robinson Memorial Church, Gainsborough, England, to your librarian, needs no explanation:

Gainsborough, England, *Oct. 4th, 1896.*

MR. E. M. BARTON:

My Dear Sir—At the laying of the Memorial Stone of the above historic church we had the pleasure of having a representative from your Society in the person of Mr. Charles A. Chase. I was sorry that the Hon. Senator Hoar was unavoidably absent on that historic day, but he has since visited Gainsboro' and the other haunts of the pilgrims, and our pleasure has been great in meeting them.

We beg to thank the members of the Antiquarian Society

very sincerely for the honour they have done us in sending two such distinguished delegates on such an occasion. I have pleasure in sending you by this mail a full set of the bills, posters, etc., published in connection with the event. The menu card I forward separately herewith, for greater safety. I trust that they may be acceptable to your Society, and I shall be glad to forward for your acceptance a full set, including photos, etc., for the *opening* ceremony. It has occurred to me that a full account of the inception of the movement, its development and completion, might not be unacceptable to your Society. If so, I shall be glad to prepare for your acceptance such a sketch. As the pastor of the only memorial church to the Father of the Pilgrim Fathers, it will give me great pleasure to become identified with your Society in any humble way. It is my sincere hope that this church may be the means of attracting to this quaint and historic town many of our transatlantic friends, who, hitherto, have not visited us.

I find that arrangements are now being made for my visit to the States in the interests of our new church. I trust I may have the pleasure of meeting many of the honoured friends of the American Antiquarian Society. I shall be glad if you will kindly convey my greetings to your Society at your next meeting.

May the "Land of the Pilgrims' pride" never forget the cradle of the Pilgrim Fathers, is the sincere wish of

Yours, fraternally,

HUGH S. GRIFFITHS.

In accepting membership in the Society, Dr. Johann Vollgraff has sent ten of his own publications, and Hon. William T. Forbes "The Fellows of '71, Amherst College," published by his class twenty-five years after graduation. In the latter volume the repeated reference to Robert's instead of Robert College—a common error—is a reminder that Amherst's College would not be allowed by an Amherst graduate. Hon. Thomas L. Nelson has transferred from his library to ours, the "Fur Seal Arbitration. Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration at Paris, 1893," in fifteen volumes, with supplementary volume of facsimiles of documents in the Alaskan Archives. Mr. James F.

Hunnewell's gift of "Honolulu in 1817 and 1818"—transcribed and edited by him—has a special present value, as have also Rev. Edward G. Porter's tracts and circulars relating to the Armenian question in connection with the American Red Cross and its President, Clara Barton. Mr. Edward H. Thompson's valuable present of nineteen of his colored drawings of mural paintings in a Yucatan temple, which were referred to in the April Proceedings, will be found in the present list of Givers and Gifts. Mr. Henry H. Edes, editor of volume two of the "Annals of King's Chapel, Boston," placed an early copy of the work in our alcove of local history.

Following is an extract from the will of Miss Harriet E. Henshaw, of Leicester, Massachusetts, who died on March 2, 1896 :—

22. I give to the American Antiquarian Society located in Worcester, Mass., the oil portrait of my grandfather, William Henshaw, the gun, or silver mounted firelock made for him, his powder horn, bullet mould, and stirrups, his military commissions of 1759 and 1775, with the chest formerly his and the principal contents of papers and account books kept by him and his father, David Henshaw.

23. I also give to the said American Antiquarian Society the manuscript military journal kept while serving in the French War of 1759 by said Col. William Henshaw, and his military journals or orderly books kept while in the service in the Revolutionary War, such of them as I now have, with any more that may be recovered and any lost pictures that can be recovered hereafter, but upon condition that said Society shall cause at least two copies of each of said books to be printed for the use and handling of persons desiring to use them for copying or reference and to prevent further loss and destruction of said books, but if said Society does not comply, then on these conditions, I give and bequeath to the Worcester Society of Antiquity on the same conditions, and if that Society does not accept them, then I give the same to the New England Historic and Genealogical Society to be by them held on the same conditions.

The official notification by Hon. Charles A. Denny, Executor, is dated April 2, 1896. On April 3, 1896, the Council, on motion of Mr. Samuel S. Green, "Voted that the President notify the executor of the will of Miss Harriet E. Henshaw, that the Society will be happy to receive the manuscripts and other articles of value formerly the property of Col. William Henshaw and which were conditionally left to the Society by her will, for examination with reference to their acceptance." On October 9, 1896, the Council accepted the legacy under the conditions of the will. The Revolutionary orderly books therein mentioned—which are numbered one to four inclusive—were for years in the custody of librarians Baldwin, Lincoln and Haven. During Dr. Haven's administration they were claimed by Miss Henshaw as borrowed property and returned to her with the understanding that the Society should possess them at a future day. Number one, which covers the period from April 20, 1775, to September 26, 1775, inclusive, was printed in the October, 1876, Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society; reprinted in 1877, and contains a memoir by Hon. Emory Washburn and notes by Mr. Charles C. Smith. It was again reprinted in 1881 from the same stereotype plates, with additions by Miss Harriet E. Henshaw. The seventy-eight pages of Miss Henshaw's reminiscences, and facsimiles of commissions and other papers, follow the orderly book, *etc.* Numbers two, three and four were in the possession of the Society April 27, 1881, when Mr. Nathaniel Paine read liberal extracts therefrom in his report prepared for the Council. While the executor rules that typewritten copies will cover the purpose of the testator, it may be well to consider the expediency of printing at least number two, when the publishing fund will allow. We do not forget that the editor of number one is a member of our Committee of Publication. An obituary notice of Miss Henshaw may be found in the *Worcester Daily Spy* of March 6, 1896.

Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield's gift includes twenty-two recent publications selected with special reference to their fitness for our shelves. Mrs. Daniel Merriman has sent nearly one hundred volumes from the library of her father, the late Hon. Erastus B. Bigelow. They relate chiefly to the tariff, to inventions, and to the arts of weaving and dyeing, subjects in which Mr. Bigelow had such a deep and practical interest. Mr. George W. Cram, an authority in *Ex Libris* matters, has presented some early book-plates which our Treasurer has mounted for portfolio or binding. The rare book-plates attached to many of our books give an associated interest which it would seem wise not to lose by separation. Mr. Ellery B. Crane has placed in the alcove of Genealogy the first volume of his Crane Genealogy, and John E. Sinclair, Ph.D., Morrison's Family of Sinclair; both as thank-offerings. Mr. Fred J. Root, of New York, who presented through Rev. Dr. Hale, the reproduction of a so-called De Soto medal found near Ash-Grove, Missouri, writes to the librarian June 22, 1896: "I am very sorry that I am unable to find the letter I received from the owner, Mr. G. W. Turner, as he gave a long account of it. I hope to run across it yet, when I will send it to you."

The portraits of John Bush and his third wife, Abigail (Adams) Bush, painted by McKay in August, 1791, were acknowledged at some length in my report of last April. Since then Mrs. Maria Pratt Chaffin, sister of Mr. John Bush Pratt therein mentioned, has presented an earlier portrait of her grandfather, John Bush, with one of his first wife,¹ Charity (Platt) Bush. They were probably painted by Peacock and are especially interesting as companion pieces to McKay's costumed figures of a later period. The four portraits hang in the south-east lobby above stairs. Mrs. Chaffin writes: "This portrait of my grandfather was taken at the age of thirty-one. He died

¹ [?] Temperance.

in Worcester at the age of sixty-one and was buried on the Common. The portrait of my grandmother was taken when she was twenty-four. She was celebrated for her beauty, and died in the City of New York, aged twenty-five. Her maiden name was Temperance Platt. Plattsburg, New York, was named for her uncle, Judge Jonas Platt." Hon. Maturin L. Fisher, a former librarian of this Society, married her daughter.

The Parkman Club of Milwaukee—surely a well-chosen name—has added its first six publications to our learned society collection. Accompanying a gift of early textbooks from the Providence Public Library is the following from its librarian: "I send another package of antiquated works of science for your library. I think I mentioned to you some time ago, the reason for these successive instalments. Namely the use to which they may be put at Clark University, in connection with the study of text-book literature of all periods. If they would be more useful at the university itself, than in your collection, do not hesitate to turn them over to the former."

We acknowledge to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, representative works in two important lines. I refer to Volume VIII. of the Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, being Appendix Volume III. The first volume of the Appendix—*i. e.*, Volume VI. of the entire work—has not yet appeared. We have been happy to supply material not elsewhere found, a privilege we hope to exercise until the great undertaking is completed. The second reference is to Volume I., A—Ber of the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," for which an appropriation was made in 1891, further action having been taken in 1893 and 1894. In this case, as in that of the Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, it would seem wise to make haste slowly. Although this Society's contribution of fifty-eight hundred and ninety-six names to the Revolutionary Roll now for the first time to be printed, is not

mentioned in the preface to the first volume, it dates back forty-six years as shown by the following, in the handwriting of my predecessor: "Memorandum, 1840, Tuesday, May 12th. Sent by stage to the Secretary of State [Hon. John P. Bigelow] a box of manuscripts relating to the military service of the Revolution, in compliance with a vote of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, April 1st. S. F. H." At the Council meeting referred to, Dr. John Park was in the chair, with William Lincoln, Secretary *pro tempore*. It was "voted: That the librarian be authorized to deliver to the Secretary of the Commonwealth such manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution as are now in the possession of the Society, upon the condition that the Secretary will cause the same to be arranged in good order, bound into volumes, and safely kept while the same shall remain in his custody, and return the same whenever thereto requested, to the library, free of expense to the Society." For further light upon this important loan, see Massachusetts House Document, No. 10, January, 1841, and our Proceedings of April 27, 1881. It is probable that a careful examination of the orderly books and kindred material gathered since the deposit of 1840, would add very considerably to the present roll.

It is a hopeful sign in the library world that libraries which have been gathered by eminent specialists, are now sought for purchase in their entirety. The recent death of our associate, Dr. Ernst Curtius of Berlin, places another unbroken library of note upon the market. I second the words of *The Nation*: "The value of such a possession to some of our younger American universities is obvious, and it is to be hoped that our educational benefactors will not neglect this rare opportunity."¹

The practical interest shown by members of the Society in the purchase of the Rufus Putnam house in Rutland,

¹Since the above was written the library has been presented to Yale University by Mr. J. Montgomery Sears of the class of '77.

Mass., suggests the preservation of the following contemporary tribute communicated to the *Massachusetts Spy* on May 26, 1824:—

Died at his seat in Marietta, Ohio, on the 4th instant, the venerable and highly distinguished Gen. RUFUS PUTNAM, formerly of Rutland in this county, aged 86. This distinguished champion of the War of the Revolution, and the fast friend of WASHINGTON, gathered a small band of tried souls, and at the close of the War, in 1783, made arrangements and settled on the west bank of the Ohio in 1787, at Marietta, then a savage wilderness. He has lived to see the State of Ohio the fourth in the Union, in point of population—having fourteen Representatives in Congress, while Massachusetts, his native State, has but thirteen. Gen. RUFUS PUTNAM is acknowledged the father of the western country, and lived to the day when Ohio can number 800,000 souls. This is worthy of note. His soul was pure and unsullied, a Christian that carried the mantle of charity—liberal, generous, hospitable—with a large store of philanthropy. He died an honor to human nature.

The celebration of the centennial of the birth of Horace Mann has called special attention to the educational efforts of early times in America and thus to our collection of text-books. While our founder is known as a publisher and collector of such material, he is not so well known as a writer or compiler of school-books. A line title of one of his rarest follows: New | AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK, | The CHILD'S Easy Introduction | To | SPELLING and READING | The ENGLISH TONGUE. To which is added, | An Entire New, Plain and | Comprehensive *English* GRAMMAR. Also | The Shorter Catechism, | By the Assembly of Divines. | The whole adapted to the Capacities of YOUNG CHILDREN rendering the use of a PRIMER | *Unnecessary*. | Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, BY ISAAH THOMAS: | Sold at his BOOK STORE and by E. BATTELLE in BOSTON. | MDCCLXXXV. Our

copy belonged to Mr. Thomas and contains a few of his manuscript notes. For instance, he takes exception to his own title-page by placing an asterisk after "The whole adapted to the Capacities of Young Children." The footnote to which it calls attention quaintly observes, "The Catechism excepted." Again, upon the fly-leaf appears the following undated testimony: "This book was rather hastily compiled. I had designed to have written another spelling book on a new plan, and provided some materials for that purpose but had not leisure to execute the work whilst I continued in the printing business. I. Thomas. Soon after publishing this, I printed and introduced Perry's spelling book, which after it was new modeled had what booksellers call 'a very good run.'" The book described is a 12mo of 144 pages, bound in linen and backed with written label "I Thomas's Book." His preface follows:—

As many Spelling Books are now extant by different authors, an apology for this may appear necessary. So far from finding fault (according to the usual custom of each successive author or compiler) with those Gentlemen who have written upon the subject, I think each has made some valuable improvements. In this I have endeavored to collect these improvements. My principal object has been to adapt it to the capacity of young children, and facilitate their access to an easy attainment of Spelling and Reading, endeavoring equally to avoid prolixity and intricacy. The utility of a work of this kind being sufficiently obvious, will, I flatter myself, plead an apology for my attempt. The Spellings are divided agreeably to the Pronunciation and according to the method pursued by the best and most approved authors. I have likewise added a compendium introduction to English Grammar upon an entire new plan, which I hope will be found useful. The following sheets are with respect submitted to the candour of the publick, by their Most Obedient, Humble servant, The EDITOR.

Your librarian has placed with the town documents of Worcester the report of his attendance and conduct for the month ending September 28, 1842, made by Abigail Pratt,

Instructor of the Centre Infant School. It records the fact that one hundred and two infants are upon the roll and that the studies are "The New Testament, Franklin Primer, *Gallaudet's Book on the Soul*, Gallaudet's Picture and Defining Book, and North American Arithmetic." The italics are the writer's. The pupil's fourth birthday occurred only the day before the report was sent to his parents.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Twenty college pamphlets; and “St. Andrew’s Cross,” in continuation.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Ethnological View of History”; and his “Left Handedness in North American Aboriginal Art.”
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Virginia newspapers containing articles by himself.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—Three of his own productions.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Accounts of the Laying of the Memorial Stone of the John Robinson Memorial Church, at Gainsborough, England, June 29, 1896; a “Tribute to Ernst Curtius”; two books; twelve pamphlets; and one manuscript.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Eight books; and three hundred and thirty pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; and fifty-two pamphlets.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His “Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College.” Vol. II.
- EAMES, WILBERFORCE, New York.—Photographic facsimile of the “Association or Non-importation agreement of 1774.”
- EDES, HENRY H., *Editor*, Charlestown.—Annals of King’s Chapel, Boston. Volume II.
- FORBES, HON. WILLIAM T., Westboro.—“The Fellows of ’71, Amherst College.”
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His report of 1896 as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His “Statements respecting Johns Hopkins University.”
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—His “Communication relative to the State Reservation at Niagara.”
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Four of his own publications; twenty-eight books; two hundred and eight pamphlets; one map; and the “American Journal of Numismatics,” in continuation.

- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His Annual Report for 1894-95 as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester.
- HALL, HUBERT, London, G. B.—An illustrated paper on Austerfield Church.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Popular Discontent with Representative Government"; forty-two books; six hundred and two pamphlets; ten files of newspapers in continuation; and eleven lithographs.
- HOYT, ALBERT H., Boston.—Abbott's "Sermon in memory of Rev. George S. Converse, D.D., March 15, 1896."
- HUNNEWELL, JAMES F., Charlestown.—"Honolulu in 1817 and 1818," transcribed and edited by Mr. Hunnewell.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "The Staying Power of a Down Town Church."
- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Providence, R. I.—His "Bibliography of Early Party Conventions"; and Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University, VI., VII.
- JENNISON, SAMUEL, Boston.—Manuscript Note Book, 1638-1641, of Thomas Lechford.
- KINGSBURY, FREDERICK J., LL.D., Waterbury, Conn.—His "A Sociological Retrospect."
- LEÓN, NICOLÁS, Guadalupe, Mexico.—One pamphlet.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—His "The Prophetic Function of Missions."
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Additional Mounds of Duval and Clay Counties, Florida"; and Allen's "Crania from the Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida."
- NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester.—"Fur Seal Arbitration. Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration," in sixteen volumes.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Four pamphlets relating to English schools and societies.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Four books; three hundred and seventy pamphlets; fifteen lithographs; two photographs; one manuscript; one Columbian stamp; a number of posters; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—"The Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- PIERCE, Hon. EDWARD L., Milton.—His "Recollections as a Source of History."
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Dorchester.—Four of his pamphlets and four of his circulars relating to the Armenian question.

PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—“Symbolism in Ancient American Art,” prepared by him and Mr. C. C. Willoughby.

ROGERS, HORATIO, LL.D., *Chairman*, Providence, R. I.—“Early Records of the Town of Providence,” Vol. X.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Le Plongeon’s “Queen Moó and the Egyptian Sphinx”; twenty volumes relating to Worcester history; two copies of the “American Conference on National Arbitration”; forty-nine books; one hundred and sixty pamphlets; various programmes; and ten files of newspapers, in continuation.

THOMPSON, EDWARD H., Merida, Yucatan.—Nineteen of his “Colored drawings of mural paintings in Yucatan Temple.”

THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—His “Account of the New Library Building of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.”

VOLLGRAFF, JOHANN C., LL.D., Brussels, Belgium.—Ten of his own publications.

WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—“The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six.”

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—His “Virginia and the Quebec Bill.”

WRIGHT, HON. CARROLL D., Washington, D. C.—Bulletin of the Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALDEN, JOHN B., New York.—Numbers of the “Living Topics Magazine.”

ALLEN, MRS. WILLIAM F., Madison, Wis.—“Essays and Monographs of Prof. William F. Allen.” A memorial volume.

APPLETON AND COMPANY, DANIEL, New York.—The “Monthly Bulletin,” as issued.

APPLETON, FRANCIS H., Boston.—“The Record of Thomas B. Reed on the Currency.”

BAILEY, REV. FREDERIC W., *Editor*, Hartford, Conn.—“Early Connecticut Marriages as found on Ancient Church Records prior to 1800.”

BAILEY, ISAAC H., New York.—“Shoe and Leather Dealer Reporter,” as issued.

BARTON, E. BLAKE, Worcester.—“Worcester’s Young Men,” as issued.

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—The “Association Record,” in continuation.

BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—Kneeder’s “Through Storyland to Sunset Seas.”

BIGELOW, MRS. JOHN W., Cambridge.—“Gems of the Barton Library”; and two newspaper files.

- BOCCA, FRATELLI, Turin, Italy.—Numbers of the “*Revista Musicale Italiana*.”
- BRETT, WILLIAM H., *Chairman*, Cleveland, O.—“Concerning the American Library Association 18th Conference, September 1-4, 1896.”
- BROUSSEAU, LEGER, Quebec, Canada.—Numbers of his “*Courrier du Livre*.”
- BROWN, FREEMAN, Worcester.—His “Annual Report of 1895 as Clerk of the Worcester Overseers of the Poor.”
- BROWNE, FRANCIS F., Chicago, Ill.—His “*Dial*,” as issued.
- BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—Twelve pamphlets.
- BULLARD, REV. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—Sixty-four pamphlets.
- BURBANK, CHARLES E., Fort Plain, N. Y.—His paper on “An Ancient Plough.”
- BURGESS, REV. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Thirteen pamphlets; and the “*Spirit of Missions*,” in continuation.
- BURRELLE, FRANK A., New York.—Numbers of his “*Clipping Collector*.”
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Twenty-two selected books; and four pamphlets.
- CARPENTER, REV. CHARLES C., Andover.—“*Andover Theological Seminary Necrology, 1895-96*.”
- CASARES, DAVID, Merida de Yucatan.—“*El Obispado De Yucatan*.” 2 vols. 8°. 1892.
- CHIAFFEE, ALBERT H., Worcester.—His “*What is Life Insurance*.”
- CHIAFFIN, MRS. MARIA PRATT, Holden.—Framed oil portraits of John Bush and his first wife, Charity Platt Bush; and a cabinet photograph from a miniature of Mrs. Charity Platt.
- CHEEVER, REV. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—The “*Hawaiian Gazette*,” in continuation.
- CLARKE, MRS. HENRY, Worcester.—Thirteen books; and one hundred and twenty-two pamphlets.
- COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their “*Boston Commonwealth*,” as issued.
- CONATY, REV. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His “*Celtic Influence in English Literature*”; and his “*Catholic School and Home Magazine*,” as issued.
- CRAM, GEORGE W., Norwalk, Conn.—One book; and nine book-plates.
- CRANE, ELLERY B., Worcester.—His “*Genealogy of the Crane Family*,” Vol. 1.
- CRANE, JOHN C., West Millbury.—His “*Rev. William Blackstone, the Pioneer of Boston*”; and one photograph.
- CROCKER, URIEL H., Boston.—His “*The Cause of Hard Times*.”

- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—Fitchburg City Document, 1895.
- CUTLER, MRS. MARY S., Albany, N. Y.—One pamphlet.
- DAVIES, THOMAS A., New York.—His "Gospel Christianity."
- DAVIS, WALTER A., *Compiler*, Fitchburg.—"Early Records of the Town of Lunenburg, Mass."
- DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His "Report for 1895-96."
- DOE, CHARLES H., Worcester.—The "Engineering Record, 1895-96"; and Weather Bureau Maps, in continuation.
- DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—The "Messenger," as issued.
- EARLE, MRS. ALICE MORSE, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Her "Margaret Winthrop"; her "Martyrs of the Prison-Ships of the Revolution"; and her "John Pitman."
- EVERETT, OLIVER H., M.D., Worcester.—Annual Reports of Harvard College, 1869-1894.
- EVERETT, HON. WILLIAM, Quincy.—His "Oration in honor of Col. William Prescott, delivered in Boston, October 14, 1895."
- FRENCH, A. D. WELD, Boston.—His "County Records of the Surnames of Francus, Franceis, French in England."
- FULLER, FRANCIS H., Lincoln, Me.—His "Descendants of Ensign Thomas Fuller of Dedham."
- GAGE, T. HOVEY, JR., Worcester.—Fifty-three numbers of "L. A. W. Bulletin and Good Roads," 1895-96.
- GAIDOZ, HENRI, Paris, France.—One pamphlet.
- GAZETTE COMPANY, Worcester.—Thirty-six books; five hundred and twelve pamphlets; one map; the Weather Bureau Maps, in continuation; and the Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—The "Golden Rule," as issued.
- GOODRICH, HENRY A., Fitchburg.—His "Pioneers of Kansas."
- GREEN, MARTIN, Worcester.—The "Scientific American"; and "The Cultivator and Country Gentleman," both for the year 1886.
- GREGSON, REV. JOHN, Worcester.—Seventy-two college pamphlets.
- GRIFFITHS, REV. HUGH S., Gainsborough, Eng.—"An Account of the Laying of the Memorial Stone of the John Robinson Memorial Church," with broadsides, programmes and cards relating thereto.
- HAMILTON, CHARLES, Worcester.—Forty pamphlets.
- HARRIMAN, REV. FREDERICK W., *Secretary*.—"Convention Journal of 1896 of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Connecticut."
- HART, CHARLES HENRY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Two of his own publications; one book; ten archæological pamphlets; and two maps.
- HASSAM, FREDERICK F., Hyde Park.—"Bunker Hill. New facts about the famous battle"; and facsimile of Stoughton Records.

- HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His "The Hassam Family, The Hilton Family, The Cheever Family."
- HENSHAW, Miss HARRIET E., Bequest of.—Col. William Henshaw's four orderly books, his portrait, gun, stirrups, bullet mould, and powder-horn, with miscellaneous letters, papers and receipts of early date.
- HIERSEMANN, KARL W., Leipzig, Germany.—One pamphlet.
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Story's "Legal Digest and Directory of Lawyers" for 1891 and 1893; eight book-plates; one pamphlet; and two circulars.
- HILLIARD, The Misses, Oxford, N. C.—"Prospectus of the Francis Hilliard School."
- HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—His "A Summary of Progress in Mineralogy in 1895."
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—Rev. Dr. Huntington's "Sermon before the New York Sons of the Revolution, February 23, 1896."
- HOLCOMBE, WILLIAM F., M.D., New York.—Manuscript notes on the Bush Family; and one tintype.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.
- HOWE, GEORGE D., North Hadley.—Photograph of the How Family Coat of Arms.
- JONES, CHARLES C., Augusta, Ga.—His "Address before the Confederate Survivors' Association of Georgia, 1896."
- JONES, Mrs. JOSEPH, New Orleans, La.—"Biographical Sketch of Dr. Joseph Jones."
- JONES, Miss REBECCA, Worcester.—Fifty-four books; and forty-seven pamphlets.
- KEIDEL, GEORGE C., Ph.D., Baltimore, Md.—His "Romance and other Studies," No. II.
- KNAPP, FREDERICK B., Duxbury.—Powder Point School Circular for 1896.
- KNOWLES, Rev. EDWARD R., D.D., Worcester.—His "Memorial of Dr. Joshua Bartlett Rich."
- LAMB, Mrs. JOHN H., Holden.—A framed copy of "The Daily Citizen," Vicksburg, Miss., July 2, 1863.
- LANMAN, Prof. CHARLES R., Cambridge.—His "The King of Siam's Edition of the Buddhist Scriptures and the Harvard copy of the first Sanskrit book ever printed."
- LATCH, EDWARD B., Academy, Pa.—His "Mosaic System and the Standing Stone on Big Round Top, Gettysburg."
- LIPPINCOTT, J. B., COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.

LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Worcester.—A collection of society invitations, 1895-96.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY, New York.—“Notes on Books,” as issued.

LOTHROP PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—Their “Library Bulletin,” as issued.

LOWDERMILK AND COMPANY, W. H., Washington, D. C.—“Washington Book Chronicle,” as issued.

McCLELLAN, The Misses, Worcester.—Twenty-one books.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their “Book Reviews,” as issued.

MAYER, GODEFRY, Paris, France—One pamphlet.

McKEON, FRANCIS P., Worcester,—His “An Essay on Language.”

MEITZEN, AUGUST, Berlin, Germany.—One pamphlet.

MENIL, ALEXANDER DE, St. Louis, Mo.—The “Hesperian,” as issued.

MERRIMAN, MRS. DANIEL, Worcester.—Ninety-four books and two pamphlets from the Erastus B. Bigelow library.

MORRIS, HENRY L., *Secretary*, New York.—“Constitution and By-Laws of the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.”

MORRIS, MRS. OSCAR F., Worcester.—The Declaration of Independence embossed on white metal.

MORSE, G. WILLIS, Worcester.—One book; and one map.

MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—One pamphlet.

MUNSON, MYRON, New Haven, Conn.—“Traditions concerning the American Munsons”; and circulars relating to the Munson genealogy.

NEWCOMB, CHARLES H., Worcester.—The Worcester Directory for 1851.

NEW ENGLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY., Boston.—Numbers of the “American Teacher”; and of the “Journal of Education.”

NEWTON, NATHAN A., Shrewsbury.—His “Shrewsbury Minute Men.”

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.

NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY.—Numbers of the “New York Times.”

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—“Open Court,” as issued.

PACIFIC NORTH WEST COMPANY, Portland, Ore.—Numbers of their paper.

PAIGE, MRS. LUCIUS R., Cambridge.—An “Obituary notice of Rev. Dr. Paige.”

PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, Mexico.—One pamphlet.

PENNY MAGAZINE COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of the “Penny Magazine.”

- PHELPS, HARRY G., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- PILE, REV. WILLIAM N., D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.—His “Eastern Question.”
- POMEROY, JAMES E., Worcester.—The “Voice of Spring,” 1896.
- PUTNAM, EBEN, Salem.—Numbers of his “Monthly Historical Magazine.”
- PUTNAM, SAMUEL H., Worcester.—Three pamphlets.
- RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—The “Religious Herald,” as issued.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., *Editor*, Worcester.—“Worcester Births, Marriages and Deaths. Part II. Marriages”; and “Worcester Town Records, 1828-1832.”
- RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—“In Commemoration of the Life and Public Services of Frederic T. Greenhalge.”
- RIDER, PHINEAS L., Worcester.—Three posters.
- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Two periodicals, in continuation; nineteen pamphlets; and newspapers in numbers.
- ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The “Amherst Record,” in continuation.
- ROE, ALFRED S., Worcester.—Bridgman’s “Souvenir of Massachusetts Legislators, 1896.”
- ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—His “Gazette,” as issued.
- ROOT, FRED J., New York.—Reproduction of a Medal found near Ash Grove, Mo.
- RUGG, ARTHUR P., Worcester.—The “Clinton Courant,” in continuation.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Catalogue of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, 1896.
- SALEM GAZETTE COMPANY.—The “Salem Daily Gazette,” as issued.
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—The “Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,” as issued.
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., *Headmaster*, Worcester.—Highland Military Academy Register, 1895-96.
- SHERWOOD, GEORGE F. T., London, G. B.—Numbers of his “Genealogical Queries and Memoranda.”
- SINCLAIR, JOHN E., Ph.D., Worcester.—Morrison’s “History of the Sinclair Family.”
- SLAFTER, REV. EDMUND F., D.D., *Registrar*, Boston.—His “Annual Report of 1896 for the Diocese of Massachusetts.”
- SMITH, JONATHAN, Clinton.—His “History of old Trinity Lodge of Lancaster, Mass.”
- SOUTHERN IMMIGRANT CO., Memphis, Tenn.—Numbers of the “Southern Immigrant.”

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Worcester Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Two of his poems.

STEVENS, MRS. CHARLES E., Worcester.—One book; eight hundred and twenty-eight numbers of magazines; "The Spectator," 1874-76; and "Harper's Weekly," 1861-63.

SUN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Worcester Sun," as issued.

TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY, Worcester.—"Worcester Daily Telegram," Vol. X., bound, in continuation.

THORNE, WILLIAM H., New York.—Numbers of "The Globe."

THROOP, MISS MARY J., Worcester.—Eleven books; one hundred and twenty-three pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.

TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—His "Collector," as issued.

TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.

TWENTIETH CENTURY COMPANY.—Numbers of the "Twentieth Century."

UNWIN, T. FISHER, London, Eng.—Numbers of his "Cosmopolis."

VINTON, REV. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

W. P. I., CLASS OF '96, Worcester.—"The Aftermath of '96."

W P I EDITORS, Worcester.—The "W P I," as issued.

WALKER, ALDACE F., New York.—One pamphlet.

WALL, CALEB A., Worcester.—His "Historic Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773."

WALKER, HON. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—His "Address on Municipal Government."

WERNER COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—"Self-Culture," as issued.

WESBY, JOSEPH S., AND SONS, Worcester.—Nine books; four hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.

WHEELER, HENRY M., Worcester.—Six hundred and forty-eight numbers of magazines relating to missions.

WHEELER, JOSEPH, Washington, D. C.—"American Ancestors of Joseph and Daniella Wheeler."

WHITE, MISS CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.

WICK, W., Lucerne, Switzerland.—One pamphlet.

WINSLOW, REV. WILLIAM C., D.D., Boston.—His "Review of Fiske's History of the United States."

YALE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Yale Review," as issued.

YOUNG, EDWARD J., D.D., Waltham.—His "Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D. A Memoir."

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Transactions of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.—Daily programmes of the Buffalo Meeting of August, 1896.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The “Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Records of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The Fortieth Annual Report.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—“Officers, Act of Incorporation, Constitution,” *etc.*

AMERICAN HUMANE ASSOCIATION.—Report of September 26, 1895, on Vivisection; and “Does Science need Secrecy.”

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN’S FRIEND SOCIETY.—The “Sailor’s Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—The “Citizen,” as issued.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Report of the Trustees for the year 1895.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report; and “Statement of Mortality,” as issued.

BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Thirty-Second Annual Report.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report for 1895; and the Library Bulletin, as issued.

BOSTON RECORD COMMISSIONERS.—Their Twenty-Seventh Report.

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—The Thirty-Eighth Annual Report.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Annual Report for 1895.

BUFFALO LIBRARY.—The Sixtieth Annual Report.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings at the Annual Meeting.

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

CAMBRIDGE, CITY OF.—“The Register Book of the Lands and Houses in the New Towne and Town of Cambridge.”

CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Transactions of the Institute, as issued.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report.

CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report of 1896.

CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—The Thirty-Fifth Annual Report; and the Library Bulletin, as issued.

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Numbers of “The Cumulative Index to a Selected List of Periodicals.”

COBDEN CLUB.—“Account of the 50th Anniversary of the Repeal of the Corn Laws.”

COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Transactions of the Society, Vol. I., 1892-1894.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—“Political Science Quarterly,” as issued.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Dedham Historical Register,” as issued.

DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Report of 1895-96.

ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—City Documents of 1895.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The “Hartford Seminary Record,” as issued.

HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Memoirs of the Society, Vol. 14; and the “Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,” as issued.

HOWARD MEMORIAL LIBRARY, New Orleans, La.—Four local pamphlets.

INSTITUTO MEDICO NACIONAL, Mexico, Mex.—Anales del Instituto, as issued.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION Y. M. C. A.—Year Book for 1896.

IPSWICH PUBLIC LIBRARY.—“Antiquarian Papers,” Vol. 2, No. 20; and Vol. 4, Nos. 52 and 53.

JERSEY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The “Library Record,” as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—The University publications, as issued.

- KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Transactions, Vol. V., 1889-96; and the 7th Biennial Report.
- LACKAWANNA INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- LEXINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—“An Address Commemorative of the Life and Services of George D. Robinson, Governor of Massachusetts, 1884-1886, by Henry Cabot Lodge.”
- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.
- LIBRARY OF THE SURGEON GENERAL'S OFFICE, U. S. A.—Index-Catalogue of the Library, Vol. I., 2d Series.
- LINCOLN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—“Sewall's Pemaquid; its genesis, discovery, name and colonial relation to New England.”
- MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.—Report on the Gypsy Moth, 1896.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—“Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay,” Vol. VIII.; and “Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War,” Vol. I.
- MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Report for 1895.
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, Vol. X., 2d Series; and an engraved portrait of Rev. George E. Ellis, LL.D.
- MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—An Essay “On the Prevention of Tuberculosis”; and the Weekly Bulletins, as issued.
- MUSEO BIBLIOTECA DE FILIPINAS.—Boletin, Agosto, 1895.
- NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE.—Proceedings of the 26th Annual Meeting.
- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.—Campaign Text-Book of the National Democratic Party, 1896.
- NATURAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, New Brighton, N. Y.—“Staten Island Names. Ye old names and nicknames.”
- NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Annual Report for 1895.
- NEWBERRY LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—Report for the year 1895.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of January, 1896; and the Register, as issued.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, STATE OF.—“Index to the Records of the Council of New Hampshire, Nov. 17, 1631–April 17, 1784”; and New Hampshire State Papers, Vol. 27.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, for 1890.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Address to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonality of New York.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

NOVA SCOTIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.—Proceedings of the Institute, Vol. IX., Part 1.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.—The Occasional Bulletin, as issued.

PARKMAN CLUB, Milwaukee, Wis.—Publications of the Club, Numbers 1–6.

PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—The Twenty-Ninth Annual Report.

PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.—Memoirs, Vol. I., No. 1; and the Twenty-Ninth Annual Report.

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.—Programme of the 26th Annual Field-Day, with plan of Fort Dummer.

PORTLAND (MAINE) BOARD OF TRADE.—The “Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.

PORTLAND (OREGON) PUBLIC LIBRARY.—“Our Library,” as issued.

PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Two books.

QUINSIGAMOND BOAT CLUB, Worcester.—The Constitution and By-Laws of the Club.

REPUBLICA MEXICANA.—Anuario Estadístico, 1894.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—The Journal of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.—Proceedings and Transactions of the Society, as issued.

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

SLATER FUND, TRUSTEES OF.—Occasional Papers, No. 7.

SOCIÉTÉ D' ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Bulletin de la Société, as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—“Traveler's Record,” as issued.

TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.—Catalogue for 1895–96.

- TYPOTHETÆ OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—Catalogue of books in the Society's Library.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.—The Thirteenth Annual Report.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—The Reports of 1893-94.
- UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.—His Tenth Annual Report, Vol. 1.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—The Forestry Circulars, as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Reports and Bulletins of the U. S. Geological Survey, as issued; and the Official Gazette of the Patent Office, as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Reports of the United States Consuls, as issued.
- UNITED STATES LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—The Annual Report for 1895.
- UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS.—Seventy-four books; and seventy-eight pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES SUPERVISING SURGEON-GENERAL.—Report of the Marine Hospital Service, 1895.
- UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—The Register of 1895-96.
- UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.—Bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station of Nebraska, as issued.
- VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—“Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,” as issued.
- WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—Numbers of the “Wesleyan Bulletin.”
- WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Four of the Society's publications; and the Centennial edition of the “Cleveland Leader,” 1896.
- WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.—“History of the Corps from its organization February 12, 1879, to January, 1895”; and Journals of the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Conventions.
- WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Mortality Reports, as issued.
- WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—“Boston Daily Advertiser,” in continuation.
- WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-two files of newspapers, in continuation.
- WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Second Supplement to the Catalogue; thirteen books; three hundred and ninety-four pamphlets; and ninety files of newspapers, in continuation.
- WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—“New York Evening Post,” and “New York Journal of Commerce,” in continuation.

WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.—Twenty books; thirty-eight pamphlets; and thirty-eight volumes of newspapers.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION.—Report of the Proceedings, July 3, 1895, and July 3, 1896.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—“Obituary Record of the Graduates of Yale University, 1896.”

THE "NEW PHILOSOPHY" AGAINST WHICH
STUDENTS AT YALE COLLEGE WERE
WARNED IN 1714.

[ADDITIONAL NOTE TO VOLUME X., NEW SERIES, PART 2, PAGE 235.]

BY EGBERT C. SMYTH.

A REMARK in his biography of President Samuel Johnson, D.D., has been understood to mean that the late Rev. Dr. Beardsley thought "the Berkeleian philosophy had been heard of at Yale so early as 1714, when Johnson graduated." Since Dr. Beardsley's opinion was presumably founded on some statement by Johnson, the supposition that Jonathan Edwards, when a student at New Haven, knew of Berkeley's idealism, seemed to gain a degree of evidence. In referring to this suggestion at the close of a paper read to this Society in October, 1895, I ventured the opinion that "not unlikely, so far as Dr. Beardsley's statement may be founded in fact, something other than Berkeley's philosophy is implied." Attention was also called to the opposition to Locke's philosophy in England, and the remark was added: "It is easier to suppose that in 1714, young men in this country were cautioned against Locke's philosophy than against Berkeley's." Subsequently, though not in season for the printing of the paper referred to, I found that Dr. Beardsley's statement appeared to be related to that of an earlier biography in such a way as to suggest that the original source of information contained no implication of Berkeleianism.

Through the efficient kindness of our associate, Professor Franklin B. Dexter, and the courtesy and favor of a descendant of President Johnson, I am now able to present the

latter's exact words, which I have copied from his manuscript autobiography. After referring to certain tutors and textbooks, he says: "They" [the students] "heard indeed in 1714 when he" [Mr. Johnson] "took his Bachelour's Degree, of a new philosophy that of late was all in vogue, and of such names as Des Cartes, Boyle, Locke and Newton, but they were cautioned against thinking anything of them, because the new philosophy, it was said, would soon bring in a new Divinity and corrupt the pure Religion of the Country."

This shows plainly who the philosophers were, against whom the students were cautioned, and what was the threatening "new philosophy."

Another manuscript of Dr. Johnson is of interest. I examined it cursorily, and will use the language of another who studied it more carefully. It is "entitled: 'A Catalogue of Books read by me from year to year since I left Yale Colledge, *i. e.*, after I was Tutor of the College.' The first year thus recorded is 1719/20, and is evidently reckoned from October to October, that is, from one birthday to another. Pretty late in that year comes 'Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding.' In the year 1721/22 comes Isaac Newton's *Principia*. In the year 1727/8, pretty late in the list, and therefore evidently in 1728, comes 'Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge'; and this entry is repeated under 1728/9.

"Nothing of Berkeley's earlier; but later, under 1729/30, with the date of August, which must be August, 1730, is 'Berkeley's Dialogues between Hylus and Philonous'; and later in the same year, 'Berkeley's Essays towards a New Theory of Vision.'"¹

¹ I take this opportunity to say that the word "appears," p. 218, l. 13, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Oct. 23, 1895, should read "disappears."

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 28, 1897, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order at 10.30 o'clock by President STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present :—

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Frederic W. Putnam, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Lucien Carr, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Charles P. Greenough, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, William DeL. Love, Jr., James L. Whitney, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Francis C. Lowell, William T. Forbes, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, Arthur Lord, George H. Haynes.

The records of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary, and were approved by the Society. An abstract of the Report of the Council was also read by Mr. CHASE.

A memorial of Dr. Benjamin A. Gould was read by Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS ; and Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES, of Boston, presented a biographical sketch of Gen. Francis A. Walker.

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The Report of the Council, having been approved, was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Vice-President HOAR said :—

I would like to make one remark about the admirable sketch of the character of Dr. Gould, to which we have listened with such great pleasure. I think I can from personal recollection correct one of the statements which Mr. Davis has made on the authority of one of Dr. Gould's classmates, which, if I understand him correctly, is that Dr. Gould's fame as a mathematician was not achieved until after his college days. I entered college in the summer of 1842, at the end of Dr. Gould's sophomore year, and roomed with an older brother, who was his classmate and quite intimate with him. My room was on the third story, and his on the second in the part of Massachusetts Hall nearest the street. Dr. Gould was then by all odds the most eminent mathematician in the college, and his great attainments as a mathematician were spoken of among the boys. I am able to assure myself of the time, because I remember speaking to Ben Gould, as we called him, on some matter connected with mathematics a very few weeks after I entered college. He calculated the orbit of the great comet, which, I think, came in 1843. He sat up night after night hard at work, and got some aid in his additions and computations from other young men who gave themselves to his service as to a superior whom they were glad to serve in that way. I can see him now, with a dressing-gown on and a wet towel tied around his head,

sitting there late into the night. That was before his college course was half over. I believe Prof. Pierce used to walk with him in the yard, which he did not do with any of the other boys. The professors held themselves aloof from the boys in those days. Prof. Pierce recognized him as a favorite pupil. I do not know how much of a mathematical attainment it would now be considered for a young man or boy of seventeen years to calculate the orbit of a comet, but in those days it was a great wonder.

The Recording Secretary announced, in behalf of the Council, that there were three vacancies in the list of domestic members, and on their recommendation, Hon. THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, LL.D., of Wilmington, Del., and CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, were elected as domestic members; and Rt. Rev. Dr. FREDERICK TEMPLE, Archbishop of Canterbury, Rt. Rev. Dr. MANDELL CREIGHTON, Bishop of London, and JOSEPH FLORIMOND, Duc de Loubat, of Paris, were elected as foreign members, on separate ballots.

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE called the attention of the Society to the collection of early American Broad-sides in the library, and said he had made a list of those printed previous to 1800, many of which were of historical interest. This list with descriptive notes he offered for publication.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, said:—

I would like to say a word on this subject which Mr. Paine has brought up, because there are two broadsides we seem to have lost, and yet I must believe that they exist. They were published quite late in the eighteenth century. I took a good deal of pains to see if I could find them, and I did not know that the Society of Antiquaries of London had a collection. The broadsides of which I speak were those distinctly described in Franklin's own autobiography. One is the "Ballad of the Lighthouse Keeper," the

other is "The Ballad of Blackbeard." Both these ballads were written by Franklin, if that phrase may be used when he composed them by setting the type from which they were printed. I have long supposed that we have, traditionally, one verse of Franklin's "Ballad of Blackbeard." It is possible that it was printed and reprinted for different ballad-mongers, and that one of the sheets upon which it is may be preserved somewhere. The verse to which I allude is this :—

"So each man to his gun,
For the deed must be done
By cutlass, sword, or pistol.
And when we no longer can strike a blow
Then fire the magazine, boys, and up we go!
It is better to swim in the sea below
Than to hang in the air to feed the crow,
Says jolly Ned Teach of Bristol."

Ned Teach was the "Blackbeard" of those days.

The briefs alluded to by Mr. Paine were a great protection to gentlemen in my profession, and I wish Governor Wolcott would issue such briefs now. Clergymen would not be able to take up collections in churches unless they had briefs. I have solicitations every week, that we will take up a collection for somebody or something, and such briefs would be a great advantage. We should do as we chose about the collection, of course, after we had received the brief.

Mr. PAINE added, that he came across one interesting broadside or ballad on which is the manuscript of Doctor Thomas, stating that he set type for it when he was six years old.

President SALISBURY said :—

The President takes this opportunity to bring to your attention, that at the stated meetings of the Society the reports of the Council and officers, and the miscellaneous

essays from the members, add much to the interest of our gatherings. Such papers are solicited from our associates, and are always welcome; and the President hopes that an early notice will be sent him by any members who desire and are willing to prepare a paper for the coming October meeting, stating the subject and other particulars regarding it. In this way it is expected that some very interesting material, not easily secured, may be provided, and that no member will wait for a special invitation if inclined to present his views upon a topic, archaeological, historical, or critical, but will notify the President of his intention to present a paper. This course will relieve the President from the work of soliciting or making suggestions to members, and it would be an advantage to the Society if they would bear this matter in mind.

A paper on "The Dress of the North American Indians," was read by Mr. LUCIEN CARR, of Cambridge.

Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, of Amherst College, followed with a paper entitled "The Permanence of the Greek Type."

The next paper was on the "Litigation connected with the Land Bank," by Mr. ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

Mr. EUGENE F. BLISS, President of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, sent a paper, which was read by Mr. Samuel S. Green. The paper consists of a translation of Dr. Saugrain's "Relation of his Voyage down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to the Falls in 1788," accompanied by a sketch of the traveller's life by Mr. Bliss.

On motion, the various papers, by vote of the Society, were referred to the Committee of Publication.

Secretary Chase communicated an invitation from the Royal Society of Canada to the Council of the American

Antiquarian Society, requesting it to send one or more representatives to a meeting to be held at Halifax from the 21st to the 26th of June, 1897, to commemorate the voyage of the Cabots in 1497, by the erection of a monument, or the placing of a tablet. The President suggested that he would be glad to receive the names of any volunteers who would be willing to represent the Society at the meeting. The matter was referred to the Secretary.

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES said: —

It may be remembered that at the meeting of this Society in October, 1880, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop sent a letter to President Salisbury in regard to the recent death of Baron Pietro Ercole Visconti, the celebrated archaeologist, of Rome, a member of this Society. In it he spoke of making Visconti's acquaintance upon a visit to Rome, in 1860, and of the attentions he then received from him, including a visit to the Vatican Galleries and a drive to the Appian Way, to examine many of the celebrated tombs there. The following day he received from him a copy of an exceedingly interesting Latin inscription, that had been discovered on the Appian Way a few years before. This Mr. Winthrop inclosed, adding "an off-hand version of my own, as literal as I could well make it. . . . There are difficulties in the Latin, as it stands, which I cannot wholly solve. . . . I send you the inscription just as Visconti sent it to me. Perhaps the inscription may be found in print already somewhere."

At the time of its discovery, the stone upon which it was engraved was unfortunately injured in several places, so that there are *lacunæ* to be filled, which have been supplied by conjecture, and are printed in a different type in the copy transmitted by Mr. Winthrop, to be found in our Proceedings for October, 1880. It is stated that the letters of the inscription are beautifully cut.

The inscription consists of sixteen elegiac verses, alternately hexameters and pentameters, and records the grief of a father, named Sextus Pompeius Justus, at the untimely death of twin children, a girl and a boy. In Mr. Winthrop's words, it exhibits "a striking and touching instance of that yearning for a future state, to which some of the ancient inscriptions bear witness."

Evidently Mr. Winthrop was not aware that it had already been printed by Jacobin, in *Giorn. Arcad.*, 1851, 123, 231, with notes by Borghese; and by Canina, *Via Appia*, p. 223, n. i. (I. 104). Then it was re-edited by Henzen, *Ann. Inst. Arch.*, 1852, p. 315, 40; and from there transferred by him, in 1884, to the *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, vol. vi., No. 24520, with emendations and corrections by Buecheler; who has given it a place in his *Anthologia Latina (Pars post.)* No. 1057, just published (Leipsic, 1897), with his final conclusions, which differ in several particulars from his previous conjectures. It has seemed to me desirable that it should be reprinted in our Proceedings, with the text as finally settled by the highest critical authority of the time, and I accordingly offer an exact transcript of it for the consideration of the Committee of Publication.

HIC SOROR ET FRATER VIV[I SUNT PLAG]A PAR[E]NTIS,
 AETATE IN PRIMA SAEV[A RAPI]NA [TULI]T.
 POMPEIA HIS TUMULIS CO[GN]O[MI]NE E[LEUTHI]RIS HAERET
 ET PUER, INMITES QUE[M RAPUER]E DEI,
 SEX(TUS) POMPEIUS SEXTI PRAEC[L]A[RO NOMINE I]USTUS
 QUEM TENUIT MAGN[UM FORMA PUDORQ. DEC]US.
 INFELIX GENITOR, GEMINA [SIC MORTE COA]CTUS
 A NATIS SPERANS QUI DED[IT IPSE ROG]OS.
 AMISSUM AUXILIUM FUNCTAE POST [GAUDIA] NATAE,
 FUNDITUS UT TRAHERENT INVIDA [FATA L]AREM.
 QUANTA JACET PROBITAS, PIETAS QUAM VERA [SEP]ULTA EST;
 MENTE SENES, AEVO SED PERIERE [BREV]I.
 QUIS NON FLERE MEOS CASUS POSSITQ. DOLERE?
 QUI D]URARE QUEAM BIS DATUS ECCE ROGIS?
 SI SUNT DI MANES, JAM NATI NUMEN HABETIS:
 PER VOS CU[R V]OTI NON VENIT HORA MEI?

Mr. WILLIAM B. WEEDEN made a few remarks in regard to the wampum used by the North American Indians. He said : —

These beads were made of the shells of the quahaug, and were used freely all along the coast, and were carried into the interior. They were made especially by the Narragansetts, who were the richest of the Indians in New England, because they had the use of this article which they manufactured. I believe it is not disputed that the Mohawks came down here with their furs and exchanged for the beads. Wampum is nowhere better described than in Winslow's words, when he said "It is their gould and silver." Winslow knew the meaning of words whether in their economic, or their literary sense. Of course, their main trade was by barter, but barter cannot be carried on without some medium of exchange. Mr. Bartlett told me when he went with a government expedition to survey the Mesilla valley in Mexico in 1848, he was obliged to carry out two large boxes or chests of modern machine-made wampum, because it was the only sort of currency to be used among the Indians. Later on, among the Indians of the Pacific slope, the wampum used was of a different character from that made with so much labor here. It was either shells bored through like washers, or else they were beautiful shells, as long as an ordinary-sized finger and beautiful in themselves. As late as the '60's, after Californian civilization had come in contact with the Indians, there were Indians who preserved their wealth in this form in preference to either greenbacks or gold; and I think it must be pretty clear that a habit which was so confirmed in a commercial way as to outlast the contest with civilization for more than two centuries, must have been well established before the Europeans came in here."

Mr. LUCIEN CARR in addition remarked : —

These statements about wampum are quoted in my paper.

I can only repeat that I find no proof that the Indians, before the arrival of the whites, ever used shell-beads or wampum as money. Soon after the arrival of the first settlers in New England, beads in that section took on a recognized value, and were used in buying and selling. Roger Williams tells us that coats sometimes had on them beads and ornaments to the amount of ten pounds sterling. Every time there was a treaty, a wampum-belt had to be given, and on one occasion a belt containing some six thousand beads was given to the Iroquois. I know they treasured these things just as they did any other article of value, but as for using them as money, I find no reference to it.

Mr. CHARLES P. BOWDITCH gave to the Society an old deed given by Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth, his daughter, to Judge Samuel Sewall. Mr. Bowditch said:—

I should feel some misgivings in offering to the Society merely an old deed, had I not received assurances from our librarian that the gift would be welcome. I therefore offer it as a gift from the heirs of my uncle, the late Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch. This deed is dated in 1700, and is signed by Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth, his daughter, but the seals, which are usually appended to parchment deeds, are missing.

Samuel Bellingham was the son of the Governor of the Massachusetts province, Sir Richard Bellingham, who died in 1672. Samuel Bellingham graduated in the earliest class of Harvard College, that of 1642. He pursued his studies and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine in Leyden, and thereafter lived most of his life in London. He married twice and had one daughter, Elizabeth, by his first wife. In 1695, being about to contract a marriage with widow Elizabeth Savage, of whom James Savage says that he knows nothing, he made a marriage settlement, by

which he settled a large part of his property upon his future wife. This marriage settlement is made with Edward Hull and John Shelton, both of London, as trustees. His wife seems to have been a woman of considerable force, for she was sent to America by her husband to look after his property there. In October, 1697, she deeded to Chief Justice Samuel Sewall a piece of land with the same boundaries and description as are mentioned in this deed, and her deed was confirmed by her trustees. In November, 1697, she made her will, in which after remembering generously the college and church, she left most of her property to her husband. She sailed on the 8th of November, 1697, for England, but lost her life in a shipwreck off the coast of Ireland, in February, 1698.

This deed is made by Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth, his daughter, apparently in confirmation of the deed previously given, and it is very probable that it was considered necessary on account of the character of Elizabeth Bellingham's will. The land included in this deed is a back piece of the Richard Bellingham possessions lying on the slope of Pemberton Hill. The Richard Bellingham possessions were deeded in three lots:—

One lot, which adjoined that of John Coggan and was 140 feet frontage on Tremont street, lay nearly opposite King's Chapel. This was the lot that was sold by the Governor to Humphrey Davie and by him to Andrew Faneuil, and passed later to Peter Faneuil, John Vassal, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Isaiah Doane and William Phillips.

The next lot adjoining this to the north, was 68 feet on the front, and the title remained in the First Church of Boston for nearly one hundred years. In 1787, it passed to Sampson Reed, and from him to William Phillips.

The third lot, which is the one contained in our deed, lies directly in the rear of the second, back of the stores over which Papanti's hall stands. This lot, after Chief

Justice Sewall's death, passed to his son-in-law Cooper, who had married his daughter Judith, and from him to one Vassal, and through Patrick Jeffrey and Jonathan Mason to Gardiner Greene, and formed part of the latter's large estate on Pemberton Hill.

The first lot of the Richard Bellingham possessions was the one upon which the Faneuil house stood, which was afterwards occupied by John Vassal and others. The second lot is the one on which the Governor's house stood, and not the house of Sir Henry Vane, as has been sometimes stated.

This deed is accompanied by a certificate of the Lord Mayor of London, stating the competency of one William Scorey, before whom as a notary public, the acknowledgment of the grantors had been made. This certificate is peculiar in one respect, and I have not been able to find any explanation for it. It cites that Sir Richard Levett was the Lord Mayor of London at the date of the deed, 1700, but the certificate is signed Ashurst. Sir William Ashurst had been Lord Mayor in 1694, but I cannot understand by what authority he would have signed a certificate in 1700, nor why as a knight he should have signed his last name alone. It is possible that this irregularity in the certificate may have afforded a reason for the deed not having been recorded.

This deed is mentioned by James Savage in his Genealogical Dictionary of New England, where he says that original indentures of the Bellingham estate, which had been in his possession for a long time had been given to a better custodian. This refers undoubtedly to their having been placed in the hands of my uncle.

The following is a copy of the ancient deed:—

This Indenture made the thirtieth day of July in the twelvth yeare of the Reigne of our sov'igne Lord William the third by the grace of God of England Scotland ffiance and Ireland King defender of the ffaith Annoque Domini one thousand seven hundred Between Samuel Bellingham Esq^r son and heire of

Richard Bellingham late of the Towne of Boston in his Majesties Colony of Massachusetts in New England decēd Esq^r and Elizabeth Bellingham Spinster daughter of the said Samuel Bellingham of the one parte and Samuel Sewall of Boston aforesaid Esq^r of the other parte witnesseth that the said Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth Bellingham the daughter for and in consideration of the sūme of fve shillings of Lawful money of England to them in hand paid by the said Samuel Sewall at or before the Delivery of these presents the receite where of they do hereby acknowledge Have granted bargained sold aliened enffeoed and confirmed, and by these presents doe Grant bargain sell alien enffeoed and confirme unto the said Samuel Sewall his heires and assigns forever All that peice or parcell of Land being aside of a Hill adjoyneing to a Hill formerly belonging to M^r. Cotton lyeing, scituate and being in the said Towne of Boston and butted and and bounded as followeth that is to say Northerly by the Land of the said Samuell Sewall, Easterly in parte by the Land of the said Sewall and in part by Land belonging to the first Church in Boston now in the occupacō of M^r John Baily Southerly by Land Lately belonging to Humphrey Davie and Westerly by land lately belonging to Captain John Wing or however otherwise the said peice or parcell of Land is bounded conteyneing about halfe an acre be the same more or less and all wayes easements comōns profitts priviledges and appurtenances to the said peice or parcell of Land belonging or in any wise appurteineing and all the estate right title Interest use property possession clayme and demand whatsoever both in Law and Equity of them the said Samuel Bellingham and Elizabeth Bellingham of in to and out of the same and the Revercō and Revercōs Remainder and Remainders thereof all which premisses were the Lands and inheritance of the said Richard Bellingham TO have and to hold the said peice or parcell of Land and all and singular other the premisses whatsoever hereby granted or menconed and intended to be hereby granted with the appurtenances unto the said Samuell Sewall his heires and assigns to his and their only proper use benefitt and behoofe forever. And to the intent the said Samuel Sewall his heires and assigns may have^a more certaine and indefesible estate right and title of in and to the said peice or parcell of Land with the

appurtenances the said Samuel Bellingham for the consideration aforesaid hath remised released and forever quitted and by these presents for himselfe and his heires doth fully clearly and absolutely remise release and forever quitted unto the said Samuell Sewall all that peice or parcell of Land herein before menconed and butted and bounded as aforesaid with its appurtenances and all his the said Samuell Bellinghams right thereto, to have and to hold the said peice or parcell of Land with its appurtenances to the only use and behoofe of the said Samuell Sewall his heires and Assignes forever soe that neither he the said Samuel Bellingham nor his heires nor any other persons or persons for him or them or in his or their name or names or in the name right or stead of them or any of them shall or will by any wayes or meanes hereafter have clayme challenge or demand any estate right title or interest of in or to the said peice or parcell of Land of any parte or parcell thereof (an)d the said Samuel Bellingham for himselfe his heires Executors and Administrators doth covenant promise and grant to and with the said Samuel Sewall his heires and Assignes that he the said Samuel Bellingham hath made done or comitted noe act matter or thing whereby the premises or any parte thereof are or be disposed of or encumbred excepting only (if anything) to the use of or in trust for Elizabeth his late wife

In Witnesse whereof the partyes to these presents have hereunto interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

SAMUEL BELLINGHAM

ELIZABETH BELLINGHAM.

On Back of Deed.

Wee doe Certifie and affirm that the present Deed was on this seventeenth day of August 1700 read over to Samuel Bellingham Esq^r in his and our presence and that he also in our p^rsence writ his name thereunto.

I. HALL

E. JOHNSON

Sealed and delivered by the within named Elizabeth Bellingham

in the presence of us (the parchment being first duly stamped)

I. HALL

WIL SCOREY }

NOT. PU

1700

Jn^o RUCK his Er

This deed has on its back in N. I. Bowditch's handwriting the following note :

Bellingham to Sewall
not recorded, relates to
Pemberton Hill, given me
by Hon. Jas. Savage Nov^r (?)
24 1855 N. I. BOWDITCH.

The certificate reads as follows :—

To all to whom these presents shall come Wee S^r Richard Levett Knight Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City of London Send greeting :—Know ye that on the day of the Date hereof in His Majesties Court holden Before us in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the said City Personall came & appeared William Scorey of London Notary Publick aged fifty four years or thereabouts Being a Person well known and worthy of good Credit And did by Solemn oath which he took upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God — Before us then and there solemnly declare testify and depose to be true That he was present and saw Elizabeth Bellingham Spinster daughter of Samuell Bellingham Esqr Seale and as her Act and Deed deliver a certaine Deed of Bargaine and Sale made the thirtieth day of July one thousand seven hundred Between the said Samuell Bellingham by the name of Samuel Bellingham Esqr Son and Heir of Richard Bellingham late of the Towne of Boston in his Majesties Colonie of Massachusetts Bay in New England deceased Esqr — and the said Elizabeth Bellingham of the one part and Samuell Sewall of Boston aforesaid Esqr of the other part and that he this Depo-
nent as a Witness to the said Deed did thereunto subscribe his name together with I. Hall and Jn^o Ruck the two other Witnesses. In faith and Testimony whereof we the said Lord Maior

and Aldermen have caused the Seale of the Office of Maioralty of the said City of London to be hereunto put & affixed And the Said Deed to be hereunto annexed Dated in London the Seventeenth day of September Anno Dni 1700. And in the twelfth year of the reign of King William the third of England &c.

Seal

Scroll

Ashhurft

Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England, I. 162, speaks of this deed as follows:—

“The orig. indentures to convey est. that he had sett. on his w. made at London Sept. 1698 and others of July 1700 in wh. he and his d. unite to convey to Ch. Just. Sewall as purchaser, the beautiful Boston est. were long in my possess. and were giv. to a better custodian.”

In behalf of the members of the American Antiquarian Society residing in Boston and vicinity, the other members of the Society were invited to partake of a collation at the Parker House immediately after adjournment.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SINCE the last meeting of the Society it has sustained the loss by death of two distinguished members: Benjamin A. Gould and Francis A. Walker. The memorials which follow have been prepared by their respective intimate friends, Andrew McF. Davis and Henry W. Haynes.

The Council will present, at a later day, a report of their action in connection with other societies, which has resulted in the return of the Governor Bradford Manuscript from its former resting-place in the library of the Lord Bishop of London to the custody of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Ph.D., LL.D., was born in Boston, September 27, 1824. His father, for many years a teacher there, is remembered to this day in consequence of his faithful work, as well as through literary contributions of a professional character. Hannah Flagg Gould, the well-known poetess, was his father's sister. Of the poems of his aunt, Dr. Gould said: "They are characterized by a cheerful, frolicsome spirit, and earnest piety." These words, true of the poems, are also strikingly appropriate in descriptive application to the Gould of his later years, whom many of us knew; incomplete and merely suggestive as a description, it is true, sufficient however in themselves to call to our minds the brilliant conversationalist, who was ever ready to enliven his talk with a merry jest, but whose profound religious convictions could not fail to impress themselves upon all whom he met.

Would we add to the features of the *companion* thus disclosed, the elements which made the *man*, we can turn again to his own writings and from the pages devoted to a sketch of his friend Rutherford, quote the chief mental characteristics which impressed the eulogist. They were, "clearness of comprehension, independence of judgment, and unselfishness of purpose." What Gould specially admired in Rutherford was eminently characteristic of himself.

Dr. Gould entered Harvard College, and was graduated there in 1844. We have the assurance of one of his classmates that he did not in the earlier part of his collegiate course display any especial predilection for mathematics. On the other hand, he was not only fond of the study of the languages, but would, upon occasion, recite page after page from the writings of favorite classical authors. His earliest college part was a Greek version, the subject being Pericles the Athenian. While his fondness for the classics at that period of his career may be freely admitted, of which there was indeed abundant evidence in his conversation in later years, yet the fact must not be overlooked that he pursued the course of pure mathematics throughout his four years at Cambridge. From this, the true bent of his mind may fairly be inferred. At any rate, by the time that he became a Senior, the selection was determined in his mind, and during the last year of his connection with the College, he devoted himself almost exclusively to the studies which were to form the basis for his work in after life. After graduation he held for a short time the position of head-master of the Roxbury Latin School.

In July, 1845, Gould sailed for Europe for the purpose of pursuing the study of astronomy under the guidance of the recognized authorities of the world. The boldness of this step can only be measured by recalling the condition of scientific study in this country at that date. If it be true, as has been asserted, that up to that time the instance of a man devoting himself to a life of purely scien-

tific research, without assurance of a professor's chair, and not as a means of livelihood, was in this country unknown, then we can appreciate the earnestness of purpose and the love of science which dictated this hitherto unparalleled course of action.

His life in Europe, for the next three years, was divided between Berlin, Göttingen, Altona, Gotha, Greenwich and Paris, a year each being spent at the two first-named places and shorter periods at the others. He contracted friendships at that time which associate his name with a distinguished set of men who were then passing off the stage, and the orderly arranged set of letter-books which he left behind him contains treasures from the pens of these great men, available for whomsoever shall edit his correspondence. Among these distinguished men was Alexander von Humboldt, then seventy-six years of age; and it appears from contemporary correspondence, that it was due to the friendship then established between the veteran scholar and the young student, that the latter was received as an inmate in the household of the great master of modern astronomy, Gauss, who was then in his seventieth year. Passing from observatory to observatory, Dr. Gould carried on his studies under the supervision of the leading astronomers of the day, and the friendships then established were cemented by community of interest, and endured throughout life. The young, talented American, who thus became associated with this coterie of learned men, was thenceforth to maintain familiar and friendly intercourse with all European students who could claim distinction in his chosen field of work, as they successively established their claims for recognition. In 1848, he returned to this country, intellectually prepared for his work, and stored with a rich freight of friendships, adequate, it would seem, to console a man in times of despondency, and to enable him to bear with patience delays in the development of his plans for the future if they should not fructify as quickly as he had hoped. Affairs,

however, did not move fast enough for one so young, and as he was not able to see his way clear to the realization of his hopes, he became discouraged. It was at this time that an event occurred which his pupil and friend, Seth C. Chandler, declares to have been not merely an episode in his career, but an epoch in American Astronomy. While he was thus lying on his oars, waiting for the opportunity to present itself for which he had been preparing for years, he was tendered by his old teacher, the great astronomer Gauss, the chair of Professor of Astronomy and Director of the Observatory at Göttingen. There can be but little doubt that this was the first instance of so great a compliment being paid to an American. His friends Peirce and Agassiz strongly urged him to accept, and it is easy to conceive that under the adverse circumstances which seemed to impede his progress at that time, the opportunity thus offered must have been full of temptation. He made up his mind, after mature consideration, not to accept the position. So earnest however was Gauss in his determination to secure Gould at Göttingen, that the offer was renewed after it had been declined. It is difficult for us who know him only as an American, full of intense patriotism, affiliated with numerous patriotic societies, and dwelling with pride upon his New England ancestry, to conceive of him as one of the staff of a German University, contributing his work to enlarge the record of a foreign land. Yet that was what came very near taking place. The second offer came at a time when he was despondent and in a state of physical weakness. He had outlined for himself an astronomical career, and hoped to be able to devote his time exclusively to the pursuit of this science in America. He had already begun his work in that direction by establishing in 1849, the *Astronomical Journal*, a periodical devoted to original investigations, which he was then publishing at his own expense. No place in this country seemed to be open for him, while that offered him at Göttingen was

ideal. The honor of being called to a chair in that University was great. The only thing wanting to make the offer complete and satisfactory was that it should have been in America. Fortunately for us, although at one time he had actually made up his mind to go to Göttingen, he ultimately determined to abide by his first decision. In 1852, he was appointed to take charge of the longitude determinations of the Coast Survey. He retained his connection with this department of government service until 1867. Bache and Walker had begun the application of the electric telegraph in these calculations, and this method he extended and developed until he had fixed the longitude of a number of places in the United States with almost absolute precision.

In 1855, the management of the Dudley Observatory at Albany, was committed to a council composed of men distinguished for their scientific attainments. Gould was appointed Director of the Observatory, a position to which no remuneration was attached. He remained here until 1859, during which time he became personally responsible for the expenditure of large sums, in the equipment of the Observatory according to the most approved methods of the day. His retirement from this position was attended with a controversy characterized by the use of much intemperate language. In this contest he achieved the reputation of being one who could defend his rights with vigor, and although technically unable to carry the point for which he contended, his scientific friends bestowed their sympathy upon him, and he retained their confidence to the end. It must have been a satisfaction to him to know that his successors profited by the battle which he fought.

He began a series of publications about this time, technical in character, and of no interest to the general public, but which were pronounced by competent judges to have been the most important contributions to the literature of Astronomy as yet produced in America.

In 1861, he was married to Mary Apthorp Quincy, a daughter of Hon. Josiah Quincy, by whom he had five children, three of whom survived him. This union was based upon mutual esteem and affection, and the softening influence of this gentle, gifted woman upon his life, can be traced through his career thereafter.

In 1862, he was appointed to reduce and compute the astronomical observations made at the Washington Observatory, and he was active both that year and the next in promoting the establishment of the National Academy of Sciences, of which he was an original member. He was also at this time engaged in the reduction of D'Agelet's observations, the publication of which in 1866, redounded greatly to his credit, and augmented his already-established European reputation.

In consequence of the outbreak of the war, he was compelled in 1861, to stop the publication of the *Astronomical Journal*. In making the announcement of the suspension of this periodical, he said: "No American is able to investigate or study now with the calmness which success requires. The energies of every citizen deserving of freedom are needed by his country, and those who may not fight against armed treason may at least assume the burden of those who do.

"There is but one mode of laboring for cisatlantic science today, namely, by struggling for the maintenance of civilization against barbarism in the Western Hemisphere, and this leaves little opportunity for astronomical research."

In June, 1864, he was appointed Actuary of the United States Sanitary Commission, and his attention, which had been for the time diverted from his special field of labor, was temporarily directed to the study and analysis of military and anthropological statistics. He deduced from these studies certain formulæ as to the relation between the ages of the soldiers and the distribution of the population. He examined the laws of growth in the human stature, and

the relations of height and weight, and sought to establish the typical proportions of the human body. The field of these investigations was greatly curtailed by Secretary Stanton, who withdrew the privilege of access to the statistics of the War Department, and thus prevented the continuance of certain other interesting examinations then in progress. Dr. Gould's conclusions are said to have been corroborated by subsequent observations. The results of his labors were published by the Sanitary Commission.

In 1864, he built an observatory in Cambridge, which he equipped with a transit, where he carried on a series of observations during the next three years. For the pecuniary means of carrying through this work, he acknowledged with affectionate gratitude that he was indebted to his wife. Profoundly conscious of his needs and of his aspirations, she placed at his disposal a sum adequate for his purposes.

The successful completion of the transatlantic cable furnished him an opportunity in 1866, to apply the methods of determining longitude which he had employed in the Coast Survey, to a connection of the system of this country with the European system, which extended from Valencia to the Ural mountains. For this purpose, he visited Valencia, and made a careful study of the velocity of galvanic currents in submarine cables.

He was also engaged, about this time, in the reduction of Rutherford's set of stellar photographs, in which work he is said to have been a pioneer. His quick intelligence led him to appreciate the value of photography as a means of astronomical measurement, and his careful methods produced acceptable results.

His readiness to make use of any means furnished by the progress of science in aid of his work was shown, as we have seen, by the application of the electric telegraph and the Atlantic cable to geodetic determinations as well as by his availing himself of the photograph as an

instrument for astronomical measurement. In all this there was, perhaps, a distinct indication that Gould was a typical American, unhampered by prejudice and not fettered by conservatism. Such appears to have been the view of M. Lœwy, who pronounced his eulogy before the French Academy of Sciences on the 11th of January, 1897. Treating of this point the speaker said, "*Gould a fait preuve au plus haut degré, dans toute sa carrière scientifique, de cet esprit d'initiative hardie, si prononcé et si fréquent chez les habitants de nouveau monde.*"

May 28, 1870, he left Boston for Buenos Ayres, by way of Europe, taking his family with him, with the intention of organizing an observatory in the Argentine Republic, where he could observe and map the stars of the Southern Celestial Hemisphere. This project was one which had long been dear to his heart, and so far as his original plan was concerned, was not expected to occupy his time longer than three years. When it first seemed probable that it could be accomplished, it was through the promise of assistance from a number of friends in Boston, who agreed to contribute the necessary means for the maintenance of the expedition. Fortunately, the support of Mr. Sarmiento, the Argentine Minister to this country, who was afterward President of the Republic, led to the foundation, under Gould as Director, of a National Observatory, at Cordoba. "It is impossible," says one thoroughly competent to speak, "in brief space to describe or characterize the marvellous work here undertaken, and so faultlessly pushed to completion, by Dr. Gould, during the fifteen years of self-imposed exile from his native land, with unfaltering devotion and energy, in the face of difficulty and domestic bereavement."

In connection with the astronomical investigations which Dr. Gould had specially under charge, his services were secured by the Argentine Republic to organize and establish an extensive meteorological service. During the fifteen

years which were devoted to the great work with which his name is specially associated, he three times visited his native land. The first time was in 1874. His labors were interrupted in February of that year by an overwhelming domestic calamity. The loss of his two eldest children by drowning, compelled him to abandon his avocations, and with his wife to seek some distraction from the grief which prostrated him, and paralyzed his energies. A public welcome was given him, on his return to Boston, at which he described the progress of his work in South America up to that date. In 1876, he made another short trip home, and in 1883, he returned with his family to Boston. On the 23d of June, 1883, his capacity for endurance of affliction was again tested by the loss of the wife to whom he was so tenderly attached. He was always ready to admit the encouragement and support that he had received from her sympathetic appreciation of his work. In the dedication of his Catalogue of the Southern Stars he bore testimony to the sympathy, self-sacrifice and practical assistance received at her hands, through which, as he said, the work had been made possible. The tender feelings of affection which united these two, breathe through every line of this dedication and mark it as one of the most beautiful tributes to be found in our literature.

His work at Cordoba was still unfinished, and he was constrained to return alone and prosecute the same to completion. The year in which he hoped to see his labor finished was drawn out to twenty months, and it was not until April, 1885, that he finally returned to this country, bearing with him about 1,400 photographic plates of Southern stellar clusters, the measurement and reduction of which was to be the principal occupation of the remainder of his life. A public dinner was tendered him after his arrival at Boston, over which his friend Hon. Leverett Saltonstall presided, and at which Dr. Holmes, his favorite poet, read a characteristic poem, welcoming him on his

return from his "celestial wanderings back to earth."

He was enabled, in 1885, to revive the *Astronomical Journal*, one volume of which was published annually thereafter down to the time of his death. With thoughtful consideration he made provision for the future maintenance of this periodical. It was his earnest desire to see through the press the results of his labor in South America. This desire was practically granted to him, as the last volume of his great work reached Cambridge a few hours before his death.

During the latter years of his life he was much interested in the advocacy of the metric system, which he hoped to see adopted throughout the world. He was a member, for the United States, of the International Committee of Weights and Measures, and in that capacity, and as President of the American Meteorological Society, he delivered addresses upon this subject. His description of the manner in which the international prototypes were prepared, so that uniformity in the standards of the meter and the kilogram might be secured throughout the world, is extremely interesting.

The work was carried on by the committee at Paris on land which was declared by the French Government to be International Territory. Those who have not examined the question cannot comprehend what Dr. Gould termed "the refined accuracy of the results." "Problems," he said, "of high physical importance, which had previously baffled investigation, have here been solved by the Bureau itself, or at its instance by specially competent investigators." Balances were prepared of a delicacy previously deemed unattainable. Metals were obtained in greater purity than had ever been hoped for. Optical methods were devised for securing minute exactitude in linear measurement, by the interference of light waves of different length. Improvements were made in barometers and thermometers, and in apparatus for securing the maintenance

of any desired temperature. In short, to quote Dr. Gould's words, "it may fairly be asserted that there is no branch of science or the arts connected with the work of this Bureau, in which important advances have not been attained in consequence of the demands made upon it." In all this Dr. Gould took a laudable pride, and in much of it he took a hand. In some instances he had prejudices to overcome before he could carry his points, but in the end his great influence prevailed.

His health, at the time of his return to this country, had been seriously impaired. He was, however, able to derive much enjoyment from life. His social disposition prompted him to renew the associations of his youth, and his recognition of the obligations which he owed to the various societies of which he was a member, led him to attend faithfully all meetings where it was possible for him to be present. He was much interested in the subject of colonial ancestry, and was one of the founders and the first President of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, an organization based upon colonial ancestry, whose purposes are to propagate knowledge of the deeds of these ancestors, and to cultivate good fellowship between their descendants.

On the evening of Thanksgiving day, November 26, 1896, he met with an accidental death. The life-labor that he had set for himself was practically finished. If perchance, some gap in his work should hereafter be discovered, his orderly habits were such that his manuscripts were left in perfect arrangement, so that some competent successor will have but little more difficulty than he himself would have had in supplying the deficiency.

He was elected a member of this Society in April, 1892. His head was then crowned with laurels of recognition received from both sides of the Atlantic. Nineteen lines are required in the quinquennial catalogue to recapitulate the honors conferred upon him, which were substantial enough for recognition by Harvard. To the well-earned

Doctorate of Philosophy which he had borne from Göttingen in 1848, Harvard and Columbia had each added an LL.D. The list of learned societies which had sought to include him in their membership included some of the most famous in the world. Among them were, The Royal Society, London; The Royal Astronomical Society, London; The Academy of Sciences (Institut de France); The Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; The Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin; The Royal Society of Sciences, Göttingen; The Royal Academy of Sciences, Vienna; The Bureau of Longitudes, Paris; and in addition to membership in these societies he had been appointed a Knight of the Order of Merit, in Prussia. This last distinction is one that has been rarely conferred in Europe. Two fellow Americans, George Bancroft and William Dwight Whitney, share with him the honor of having been admitted to this order.

Beside being a member of this Society, and the President of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, he was at the time of his death a Vice-President of the Academy in whose hall we hold this meeting. He was also a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and had served several years as a member of the Council of that Society. His connections with local scientific societies in this country and in Europe, as an honorary or associate member, were too numerous even for mention.

In 1854, he became interested in the study of his own ancestry. When he went to South America in 1870, he deposited the manuscripts which he had accumulated upon the subject of the Gould genealogy in the Essex Institute. They were published in instalments during his absence. Of the character and results of this work he himself said: "During these sixteen years the town, church and county records of New England have been laboriously and extensively scrutinized, and such opportunities as have been found for obtaining information from special family records have been improved, until the results of this investigation,

which at the beginning was prompted by personal curiosity alone, have attained a magnitude that confers upon them an interest of much wider range." This work, originally prosecuted at a time when he was absorbed in his special pursuits, was taken up again on his return to America, and "The Family of Zaccheus Gould of Topsfield" was issued under his personal supervision in 1894. This book bears the marks of the painstaking, conscientious work which he threw into all his undertakings.

It was natural that the Society of which he was practically the founder, and of which he was at the time of his death the President, should take especial notice of this last event. A memorial meeting was held, and there were present as speakers, three of his classmates. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of this melancholy occasion was the affectionate character of the reminiscences of his friends and the manner in which they dwelt upon the constancy with which he adhered to the friendships of his early years. One of the speakers, who described himself as the pupil, assistant, associate, and friend of thirty-four years, who, from the exalted station that he holds in the field of astronomical labor, may be regarded as an authority, said with reference to the rank which would be assigned to Dr. Gould by posterity, "With a due sense of responsibility for a calm judgment of the place which Gould will take in astronomical history, I am willing to say that it is scarcely possible to place this too high." Other speakers dwelt upon his personal characteristics and accomplishments; his familiarity with modern languages, which comprehended a capacity to speak and write easily in German, Spanish and French, beside a slighter knowledge of two or three other languages; his cordiality of manner; his brilliant wit and his readiness to avail himself of any opportunity to enliven the occasion by some light and happy turn of the conversation.

The resolutions adopted on that occasion refer to the

honors which had been showered upon him, in the following language: "Happily born and bred, he counted always among his friends and intimates some of the ablest men of his time, and he was sought after, as a member, by learned societies in many countries. Such distinctions were the more honorable to him as coming to a man of an unusually outspoken and even aggressive independence of character and thought, never afraid to speak his mind and never to be attacked with impunity." They refer in another paragraph, to the fact that he "had suffered grievously in his early life from calumny and injustice, and afterward from the saddest bereavements in his home," and still farther on sum up the effect upon him by his various trials in the following words: "The experiences of his life had not embittered him; they seemed, rather, to have softened him, and to have added to his old, engaging qualities of wit, hospitality of thought, and hearty sympathy, a still wider range of appreciation and kindly charitable judgment."

These extracts seem to me fitly to portray the Dr. Gould whom the members of this Society knew. He had still the same sharply defined opinions of right and wrong as when he entered the lists in the controversy connected with the Dudley Observatory; he had still the same independence of character which led him to throw aside personal considerations in the determination of his opinions; he was still positive in his likes and equally positive in his dislikes, and was still unable to forgive one who had deceived him or whom he thought to have told him that which was not true, but he was no longer anxious or even willing to champion abstract questions of right, or to attempt to enforce reforms, at the expense of his peace of mind and to the detriment of the work upon which he was engaged. His ambition was satisfied, and no position at the hands of the government, or of any college or university, could add to his fame. There was, however, one place that in the interests of Science, he would even then have taken—that of Superintend-

ent of the Observatory at Washington, and that only with the stipulation that he should be relieved of the responsibilities of the office in a short time, so that he might return to the peaceful life which had become dear to him.

Few of us who were admitted to share his social instincts in his comfortable home in Cambridge but bear away some reminiscences of the light and happy way in which he constantly enlivened the conversation and maintained his reputation as host. Professor Thayer tells of an application that he made to Dr. Gould for an exact translation of a Spanish sentence. This was promptly furnished, and in reply to a question as to his familiarity with the language, he said, "Oh yes; for fifteen years I talked in Spanish, and all I wrote was in Spanish. Spanish," he gravely added, "and Arabic." Mr. Thayer having expressed some surprise at this unexpected familiarity with an unusual language, Dr. Gould pointed to a book shelf and said, "I published several quarto volumes almost wholly in Arabic. Look at them." The volumes proved to be filled with tables of Arabic numerals.

His widely diversified experiences of life, and his extensive travels, furnished his memory with an abundant store of incidents of interest which had occurred in his presence, and events, some of them of historical importance, which he had witnessed, and from this store he was wont to draw when in the mood for the entertainment of his friends. I well remember how much I was interested in the story which he told me of his travels in Europe, in 1848, as he moved about, from revolution to revolution, finding himself by chance in contact with nearly all the important incidents of that eventful year.

The foregoing has not served its purpose if it has not conveyed the impression that Dr. Gould was liberal almost to a fault. The publication of the *Astronomical Journal*, the expenditures in behalf of the observatory at Albany, the maintenance of his own observatory at Cambridge,

furnish evidence enough upon this point. His benefactions were mainly bestowed in support of the science to which he devoted his life, and in addition to those already enumerated, there were others in the same general direction which were of a personal character. There are students now living, in whom he saw promise, and with whose tastes he sympathized, whose way through Harvard College was made easier through his generosity. He could not bear the thought that diligent American students in his favorite science should fail to profit to the utmost extent through their connection with the German Universities, and when it came to his knowledge that any such were prevented by lack of means from joining societies, the affiliation with which was of importance to them, he caused the accomplishment of this desire to be placed within their reach, without knowledge on their part of the source from which the aid had come.

Notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Gould contributed many volumes to astronomical literature, written in several languages, I have avoided mention of them even by title, owing to my inability to express any opinion as to their merits, based upon original knowledge. In what I have said concerning his work, which may seem of a technical character, I have been guided by the opinions of others in whom I have trust, and I desire in this connection to acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Seth C. Chandler, whose kind assistance has greatly aided me.

Dr. Gould's career at the time of his death was fully rounded out. The work that he had set for himself was completed. But for the unfortunate accident which terminated his career, he might have been spared to us for many years. To his friends this would have been a blessing, but notwithstanding the fact that his capacity for work was still great, it is hard to conceive what greater fame could have been in store for him. The story of his life was already written.

A. MCF. D.

Francis Amasa Walker died suddenly, in Boston, by an apoplectic stroke, in the early morning of January 5, 1897. He was born in Boston, July 2, 1840; the youngest of the three children of Amasa and Hannah (Ambrose) Walker. His father, although prominent in business affairs in this State, and for awhile a member of Congress, will be best remembered for his studies in political economy, and especially for his treatise upon "The Science of Wealth," which is highly esteemed, as well in Europe as in this country.

After graduating from Amherst College in 1860, he began the study of law, at Worcester, in the office of Judge Charles Devens and Senator George F. Hoar, then in partnership; but on the breaking out of the civil war he enlisted in the regiment raised by General Devens (Massachusetts Fifteenth), August 1, 1861, and was made sergeant-major. On taking the field, he was promoted captain, September 14th, and was appointed assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Couch, then attached to the Fourth Army Corps. Under him he made the Peninsular and Antietam campaigns and was promoted major, August 11, 1862. With Couch he passed to the Second Corps, and continued to serve as his adjutant-general, having been promoted lieutenant-colonel January 1, 1863. During the remainder of his military career, he was identified with the Second Corps, serving under Hancock and its other commanders as chief of the corps staff, with the rank of assistant adjutant-general. He participated in all the great battles of the Army of the Potomac, with the exception of Gettysburg, as at that time he had not recovered from a wound in the left hand, received at the battle of Chancellorsville. At the defeat of Ream's station, August 25, 1864, he was taken prisoner, and, after a brave attempt to escape by swimming the Appomattox river, he was sent to Libby prison. After remaining there several weeks, his health became so seriously impaired that he was paroled and sent

home. Upon his exchange, he returned to the army early in January, 1865, but he was compelled to resign, January 12th, "in consequence of disabilities incurred as prisoner of war." At this time, he received brevet commissions as colonel and brigadier-general "for gallant conduct at Chancellorsville and meritorious services during the war." By all the commanders under whom he served he was highly appreciated, and he received honorable mention in the reports of many battles, both for his work in the bureau and his valor in the field.

It was several years before his health was completely restored, but in the autumn of 1865, he accepted a position as teacher in Williston Seminary, which he resigned after a couple of years to become assistant editor of the *Springfield Republican*, under Samuel Bowles. A year later, he was appointed by President Grant, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department. His excellent work in this capacity caused him to be selected in the following year (1870), as Superintendent of the Ninth United States Census. Here his remarkable faculty for organization had full scope, and he practically revolutionized the methods of doing such work, introducing many of those employed abroad with marked improvement. Ten years later (1880), he was called to be Superintendent of the Tenth Census. This was to be taken under a new law, passed in accordance with the increased demands of the great social and industrial changes that had taken place in the nation. It was accordingly planned upon a most extensive scale, which taxed to the utmost the organizing and executive capacity of its chief. More than twenty volumes were the outcome of it; and on its appearance, it established General Walker's reputation throughout the civilized world, as a statistician of the highest order.

In the interval between these two census appointments, he delivered the address at the Soldiers' Monument Dedication in North Brookfield in 1870. The following year, he

was appointed Indian Commissioner, but only held that office for a single year; the experience and knowledge, however, thus acquired resulted in a work upon "The Indian Question," published in 1874.

He resigned this position in 1872, to accept the newly-created professorship of Political Economy and History, in the Sheffield Scientific School, at Yale. This he continued to hold for eight years, undertaking during this period, also, all the organizing of the census of 1880. In the meantime, he edited, in 1872, a "Compendium of the Ninth Census," and served as Chief of the Bureau of Awards of the Centennial Exposition of 1876, editing its report in 1879, as he had previously given to the world a popular account of it under the title "The World's Fair; a critical account of the Philadelphia Exhibition."

While holding this professorship at Yale, he also served as a member of the Connecticut Board of Education, from 1877 to 1881; of the New Haven School Committee, from 1877 to 1880; and of the Connecticut Board of Railroad Commissioners in 1877. In addition to his regular courses of lectures at New Haven, he delivered for two years (1877-1879), courses at Johns Hopkins University; and subsequently, two courses at Harvard, 1882-1884.

The fruits of this college instruction were embodied in several treatises: "The Wages Question" (1876); "Money in its relations to trade and industry" (1878); "Land and its Rent" (1883); and finally in his "Political Economy," published that same year; followed in 1889, by his "First Lessons in Political Economy." General Walker's reputation as a political economist stands very high in Europe, where he is looked upon as one of the leaders in the revolt against the older system. Especially noteworthy was his attack upon the ancient "wage-fund" theory. He maintained that this ought to be estimated not by the measure of the capitalist's ability, but by the productiveness of labor itself. So in his treatment of profits as rent, he makes

the laborer "the residuary claimant in the great process of the distribution of wealth." Upon the question of "Money" his views were very pronounced, and he was recognized as one of the strongest leaders on the side of bi-metallism. One of his latest volumes, in 1896, was devoted to a study of "International Bi-metallism." To the term "money" he gave a broad scope, including in it bank-notes; but he was convinced that gold mono-metallism did not provide a sufficient basis for a supply of sound money in a time of expanding industry. At the same time, he was equally strenuous against any appearance of repudiation, or the scaling down of debts, and stoutly maintained the gold standard for the payment of government obligations. His position, however, was widely misunderstood, and he was subjected to much criticism, as having lent aid to the movement for the free coinage of silver, during the late presidential contest; while in fact he was most heartily opposed to it. General Walker represented the United States in the monetary conference at Paris in 1878; but declined a similar appointment to the international bi-metallic conference in 1890. Had he lived, he would probably have been selected for a similar service at the present moment.

The crowning opportunity of his life came, when, upon the retirement of Professor William B. Rogers in 1881, he was selected, at the age of forty-one, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In this field of labor his success has been most remarkable. Under his guidance, that institution has grown to be regarded as the equal of the best polytechnic schools in the world. From thirty-nine teachers and three hundred and forty-one students, it has increased to more than one hundred and fifty teachers and nearly twelve hundred students. Five new department courses and three new buildings have been added to its equipment. By the students he was equally admired and beloved; and by his faculty he was looked

up to as a most wise, intelligent and progressive administrator and friend.

While fulfilling all the obligations of this most laborious and responsible post, he was called upon to render many services to the community in various capacities, which he never declined. He was a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1882-1890; of the Boston School Committee, 1885-1888; Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of World's Fair Commission, 1892-1894; member of the Boston Park Commission, 1890-1896; of the Boston Art Commission from its inception; and of the Board of Trustees of the Boston Public Library from 1896.

Not only his time but his pen was in equal demand; he was called upon in 1888, by the city of Boston, to pronounce a eulogy upon General Sheridan; and in 1891, by the Loyal Legion, to do the same service in commemoration of General Devens; while in 1890, he delivered a striking oration before the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

One of the most genial of men, fond of social life, and finding in it his chief relaxation, at the time of his death General Walker was President of the St. Botolph Club, and a member of numerous other social organizations. But none of these afforded him greater happiness than his association with old army comrades; and none of his writings are more instinct with life, evidently drawn from a full heart and mind, than are those devoted to military topics: "The History of the Second Army Corps" (1886); and the "Life of General Hancock" (1894). But he was as modest as he was brave; there is never mention of his own name save as it is absolutely necessary, and no reference can be found in his writings to his personal experiences in the service, in regard to which in general society he was always silent.

His last considerable literary work was a brief but vigorous survey of "The Making of the Nation," published in

1895. I have made mention of his more important writings, but besides those, he contributed numerous shorter articles to the periodical press, and he was in frequent request for occasional lectures and addresses. Methodical in all his habits, he kept a card-catalogue of all his writings, of which the complete bibliography would occupy too much space here, but which ought to be appended to any complete account of his life.

General Walker's eminence as a scientist and educator was widely recognized by academic and literary honors, showered upon him to as great an extent, probably, as upon any contemporary in this country. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Amherst and Yale in 1881; by Harvard in 1883; by Columbia in 1887; by St. Andrews in 1888; by Dublin in 1892; and by Edinburgh in 1896. From the University of Halle he received in 1894, the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was one of the half dozen American members of the Institute of France, and an officer of the Legion of Honor. From the International Geographical Congress in 1875, he received a medal of the first class for his Statistical Atlas of the United States; and numerous foreign scientific societies numbered him upon their rolls of membership.

General Walker was married in 1865, to Exene, daughter of Timothy M. Stoughton, of Gill, Mass., who, with her five sons and two daughters, survives him.

He was elected a member of this Society in October, 1876.

For more than fifteen years I have lived as his next door neighbor, and have been honored by his friendship. I have watched his career with mingled wonder and admiration. Always cheerful and happy, he never allowed himself to be burdened by his weight of responsibility. Gifted with a vigorous physical constitution, he apprehended no trouble except from a tendency to a delicacy of

the throat ; but it was not to that we owe our premature and irreparable loss. He was literally worked to death in the endeavor to do more than one man's strength could possibly accomplish, and from his never having learned to say "No" to any request for service to the community. All the day long he allowed himself scarcely a moment's leisure, and he might generally be seen at his writing-table, throwing off sheet after sheet with marvellous rapidity.

If ever a man lived who looked up longingly to "Honor's happy mansion" it was he ; but no man ever more conscientiously recognized that,

" Before her gate High God doth sweat ordain,
And wakeful watches ever to abide."

H. W. H.

For the Council.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

SOME GREAT TRUSTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

THE writer of this paper read a communication, a few years ago, upon "Some Great Trusts of Great Britain," treating especially of such as were of interest from their history, their fame and their beneficent work. Turning to this country, we of course find institutions established for the same ends, though several centuries later, and upon foundations of a different character. With an occasional exception, one college, one hospital, one charitable asylum, is like the others of its class as far as regards its origin and endowment. And yet, notwithstanding the comparative youth of our nation and the lack of accumulated wealth in our early history, there are a few institutions here which may be considered as *sui generis*, and which deserve to be illustrated and explained as presenting, in some degree, a parallel to the venerable and munificent endowments of the mother country.

The oldest and largest endowed institution in the United States is HARVARD COLLEGE. From the first gift of £400 by the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts in 1636 "towards a school or college," supplemented by the legacy of the dissenter John Harvard in 1638, which consisted of the half of his property, amounting to £779, 17s. 2d., and his entire library of 320 volumes, the funds have increased, through public and private gifts and careful management, to upwards of eight and one-half million dollars. The bequests and gifts received during the three years ending with July, 1896, amounted to \$597,752. As an evidence that its field for usefulness is not wholly covered,

the President of the College declares that it "could use additional endowments to the amount of ten millions of dollars for the satisfaction of none but well-known and urgent wants." The history of Harvard has been fully and ably written by other pens, and is accessible to all.

We find at Philadelphia an institution founded in the first half of the present century, so novel in its origin and so successful in its development and operation as to challenge our attention. I refer to the COLLEGE founded by STEPHEN GIRARD and bearing his name.

Stephen Girard was born in 1750 near the city of Bordeaux, in France. He adopted a seafaring life and came to this country before the Revolution, landing at New York but soon taking up his home at Philadelphia. He continued to follow the sea for many years, becoming a captain and in time a large owner of vessels. His trade was partly coastwise and partly with the West Indies. It is said that during the Haytien insurrection,—1791 to 1804,—he received much valuable personal property from the planters for safe-keeping, much of which, owing to the death of the owners, was never called for. He traded largely in real estate in Philadelphia, hiring land in dull times and in good times renting it on long leases. He also bought largely of land in the heart of the city, which now yields a most handsome income. He subscribed, not stintingly, to public charities; and when the yellow fever raged in the city he went to the hospitals and fearlessly devoted himself to nursing the victims of the scourge. He was eccentric in many ways, despised by some as a money-getter, ungracious in his manner, having an ill temper and not enjoying the friendship of any one. He separated from his wife soon after their marriage, and they ever lived apart. Yet there must have been something in the man that secured the respect of those in his employ; for he made generous provision for all of them in his will, which a man of his nature would only do in recognition of faithful service.

Before his death it was well understood that Girard was the richest man in America. The question what disposition he would make of his wealth must have furnished ample food for discussion among the gossips of the time. His heirs included a brother in France and the children of a deceased brother who had at one time been his partner in the United States. Failing a will, the property would go to them. The actual result was a complete surprise. It proved that this man, who had piled up his riches in his adopted country, had left the great bulk of it for the perpetual benefit of the youth of that country, and for the adornment and welfare of the city which had been his home.

Mr. Girard's will was dated February 16, 1830, and was republished on December 25, of the same year, that it might include several parcels of real estate which he had purchased and sundry messuages which he had built. A codicil was added June 20, 1831, for a similar purpose, and especially to designate a tract of about forty-five acres on the Ridge road some two miles from the City Hall, as the site of his "orphan establishment," instead of the square which he had first named lying in the heart of the city, between Market and Chestnut, Eleventh and Twelfth streets. He died in December, 1831, and the will was proved on the 31st of that month.

While to the world at large Girard is best known as the founder of a college, the people of Philadelphia and of New Orleans have other reasons for respecting his memory. Thus, he gave to the Pennsylvania Hospital the sum of \$30,000; to the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, \$20,000; to the Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia, \$10,000; to the Public Schools "upon the Lancaster system," \$10,000; to the city, \$10,000, of which the income was to be expended in the summer to purchase fuel to be distributed in January among poor white housekeepers "and roomkeepers of good character." He gave \$10,000

to the Society for the Relief of Poor and Distressed Masters of Ships, of which he was a member; and \$20,000 as a fund for the benefit of poor and respectable freemasons. To each of the captains in his service at the time of his decease who should have performed at least two voyages in his service, he gave \$1500. To each apprentice or servant in his employ, \$500. His brother Etienne and his nephews and nieces were handsomely remembered.

To the city of New Orleans he gave a plantation of upwards of one thousand acres with the personal estate thereto belonging, including upwards of thirty slaves, subject to its use and enjoyment by his particular friend Judge Henry Bree, of Washita, for not exceeding twenty years; at the end of which time, or at Judge Bree's death if occurring earlier, all should be sold and the proceeds applied by the city to such uses and purposes as should be considered most likely to promote the health and general prosperity of its inhabitants. To the same city and for the same purpose he gave an undivided third of all the rest of his real estate near Washita, to be preserved for ten years before making a sale. The remaining two-thirds he gave, on the same condition, to the city of Philadelphia, to be added to the chief trust created by his will. The terms of this trust are thus given:—

Twentieth.—And whereas, I have been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds and the development of their moral principles, above the many temptations to which, through poverty and ignorance, they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide for such a number of poor male white orphan children as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance than they usually receive from the application of the public funds: And, whereas, together with the object just adverted to, I have sincerely at heart the welfare of the City of Philadelphia, and, as a part of it, am desirous to improve the neighborhood of the

river Delaware, so that the health of the Citizens may be promoted and preserved, and that the eastern part of the City may be made to correspond better with the interior: Now, I do give, devise, and bequeath all the residue and remainder of my real and personal estate of every sort and kind wheresoever situate (the real estate in Pennsylvania charged as aforesaid), unto "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia," their successors and assigns, in trust, to and for the several uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared of and concerning the same, that is to say: So far as regards my real estate in Pennsylvania, in trust, that no part thereof shall ever be sold or alienated by the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia, or their successors, but the same shall forever thereafter be let from time to time to good tenants, at yearly or other rents, and upon leases in possession not exceeding five years from the commencement thereof, and that the rents, issues, and profits arising therefrom shall be applied toward keeping that part of the said real estate situate in the City and Liberties of Philadelphia constantly in good repair (parts elsewhere situate to be kept in repair by the tenants thereof respectively), and towards improving the same, whenever necessary, by erecting new buildings, and that the net residue (after paying the several annuities hereinbefore provided for) be applied to the same uses and purposes as are herein declared of and concerning the residue of my personal estate: And so far as regards my real estate in Kentucky, now under the care of Messrs. Triplett and Burmley, in trust, to sell and dispose of the same, whenever it may be expedient to do so, and to apply the proceeds of such sale to the same uses and purposes as are herein declared of and concerning the residue of my personal estate.

Twenty-First.—And so far as regards the residue of my personal estate, in trust, as to Two Millions of Dollars part thereof, to apply and expend so much of that sum as may be necessary in erecting, as soon as practicably may be, in the centre of my square of ground between High and Chestnut streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, in the City of Philadelphia (which square of ground I hereby devote for the purposes hereinafter stated, and for no other forever), a PERMANENT COLLEGE, with suitable buildings,

sufficiently spacious for the residence and accommodation of at least three hundred scholars, and the requisite teachers and other persons necessary in such an institution as I direct to be established; and in supplying the said College and outbuildings with decent and suitable furniture, as well as books and all things needful to carry into effect my general design.

Then follow explicit directions, in full detail, as to the construction of the College and its outbuildings, with a provision that when the College and its appurtenances were completed and supplied with plain and suitable furniture and books, philosophical and experimental instruments and apparatus, and all other matters needful to carry his general design into execution, the income of so much of the \$2,000,000 as remained should be applied to maintain the College according to his directions. These directions were full and explicit. In the selection of officers of instruction and government, "no person shall be employed who shall not be of tried skill in his or her proper department, of established moral character; and in all cases persons shall be chosen on account of their merit, and not through favor or intrigue." The beneficiaries of the charity were to be "poor white male orphans between the ages of six and ten years, who should be legally indentured or released, so that they might be properly restrained and not withdrawn at the whim of relatives or others." Preference was to be given, 1st, to orphans born in the city of Philadelphia; 2d, to those born in any other part of Pennsylvania; 3d, to those born in the city of New York, the port at which Girard first landed; and, 4th, to those born in the city of New Orleans, "being the first port of said continent at which I first touched, in the first instance as first officer, and subsequently as master and part-owner of a vessel and cargo."

As to the care and instruction of the orphans he stipulated:—

The orphans admitted into the College, shall be there fed with plain but wholesome food, clothed with plain but

decent apparel (no distinctive dress ever to be worn), and lodge in a plain but safe manner. Due regard shall be paid to their health, and to this end their persons and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation. They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages) and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant. I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs. And especially, I desire, that by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

Those scholars who so merited were to remain until they were between fourteen and eighteen years of age, when they were to be bound out to suitable occupations. Certain details were to be left to the city government, and the testator trusted that his fellow-citizens would “observe and evince especial care and anxiety in selecting members for their City Councils, and other agents.”

The injunction imposed by the will as to the admission of ministers of the gospel to the College and as to the moral teaching of the scholars is as follows:—

I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said College. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement, which clashing

doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce : My desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.

As to the wisdom of this injunction and its probable effect upon the orphans, every man is free to form his own opinion. I have nowhere seen it stated that the graduates were below the average standard of morality, or that they were atheistic in their belief. There are many devout clergymen now living who graduated at this institution.

So much for the establishment and maintenance of the College. A further sum of \$500,000 was left in trust : to lay out and maintain a street to be called Delaware avenue along the east river front of Philadelphia ; to pull down and remove all wooden buildings as well as frame buildings filled in with bricks within the city limits ; to widen and improve Water street and its neighborhood. To the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by the twenty-third section of his will, he gave \$300,000 for the purpose of internal improvement by canal navigation, on condition that laws should be enacted which should ensure and make perpetual the benefits intended by the foregoing trust. The remainder of his personal estate he left in trust, for the further improvement and maintenance of the College, for the security of the citizens and their property by a competent police force, and for the improvement of the city property and the general appearance of the city.

The Legislature was quick to act upon the matters contained in the Girard will. Within three months after it was admitted to probate an Act was passed to satisfy the conditions of the twenty-third section above referred to,

and also to prohibit the laying out of any road or street through the land bequeathed as the College site, except on the recommendation of the Directors of the College and the approval of the city government.

The heirs of Stephen Girard would not have been human if they had failed to contest his will. They went to the Supreme Court with their arguments and appeals, and even to the Supreme Court of the United States, but were at all points defeated and finally "concluded."

Girard College was formally opened on January 1, 1848, the first one hundred boys having been admitted just previous to that date. During the intervening fifty years 5,700 boys have been admitted to the institution. The average number for 1896 was 1,513, maintained at a cost of \$311.51 *per capita*. The total on January 1, 1897, was 1,536, of whom 143 were from the old city, as it was at the time of Girard's death, 763 from the newer parts of the city and 630 from other parts of the State. From outside of Pennsylvania there were none; the cities of New York and New Orleans, though entitled to send pupils, being unrepresented.

The last of the annuitants under Girard's will died in July, 1896, nearly 65 years after his own death.

The total invested capital of the Residuary fund at the close of last year was \$15,210,471.35. Invested: Girard College, ground and buildings (approximate cost), \$3,250,000; banking-houses, dwellings, stores, wharves and farms in the city of Philadelphia, \$5,090,400; real estate in Schuylkill and Columbia counties, Pa., as assessed, \$1,708,928; stocks and loans, \$5,161,143.33. The real estate in the city yielded a gross revenue of \$456,563, and that without the city, \$587,772. The personal estate yielded \$230,454. The fund for the improvement of the Delaware front of the city, with its accretions, amounts to \$1,161,103. The original appropriation by the executors of the will was \$500,000, and it is proposed to expend the accumulated

surplus, or \$650,000, during the present year in widening Delaware avenue to 150 feet, giving the city a magnificent water front.

The real estate without the city includes some thirteen coal mines, which, operated under royalty, yielded one and one-fourth million tons in 1896, and the rents and royalties of these collieries amounted to \$571,838.88.

A committee appointed by the alumni of the College has secured private contributions sufficient to erect a bronze statue of Stephen Girard, which will be placed in position in front of the City Hall in Philadelphia on the 20th of next month, the 147th anniversary of his birth,—a perpetual reminder to the citizens of their debt to a most wise and most remarkable man.

The "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FUNDS," so-called, established primarily for the benefit of young married artificers in the cities of Boston and Philadelphia respectively, and secondarily for the benefit of the whole people of those cities, are a monument of the practical philanthropy of their founder, and of his sympathy with that class in the community of which he had once been a member. The original gifts were £1000 sterling, or \$4444 each. The purpose of the funds was to make loans at five per cent. per annum to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as had served an apprenticeship in either city and faithfully fulfilled the services required by their indentures. Bond was to be given with two sureties for the return of the loan, and no sum greater than £60 was to be lent to one person. One-tenth of the principal was to be repaid annually. Franklin calculated that at the end of one hundred years the funds, if carefully managed, would amount to £131,000 each. Of these sums he would direct £100,000 to specific purposes in Boston and the same amount in Philadelphia, and have the remaining amount employed in the same way as the original for another hundred years.

The calculations which Franklin had made with pencil and paper as to the increase of his funds were not realized. The number of young artificers whose ambition and pluck prompted them to apply for the aid which was within their reach, and who could furnish the required sureties, was much less than he had anticipated. At Philadelphia, owing to failures to repay the loans and unfortunate investments of the funds, the total amount, at the expiration of one hundred years, in 1890, was but \$87,600, as against the \$581,640 upon which he had calculated. Boston had done much better, its fund amounting to \$391,169. Wise counsellors decided that as the first one hundred years had passed it would be both legal and proper to draw upon the funds, to the amount of $\frac{1}{3}\frac{0}{3}\frac{0}{1}$ of the principal, for the secondary objects of the bequest. But at this point descendants of the testator began legal proceedings to recover the original bequests and their accumulations. Their petition was dismissed by the Orphans' (or Probate) Court of Philadelphia, and its decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. A bill in equity was then filed in the Court of Common Pleas, but the demurrer of the city of Philadelphia, trustee, was sustained, and all further legal proceedings to break the trusts were thus ended. A more careful nursing of the funds in the last few years has considerably increased their value. In Philadelphia the division to be made this year will give \$88,338 to be expended in aid of the erection of an art gallery in Fairmount Park, "the portion of the building so paid for to have the name of Benjamin Franklin connected with it in such a manner as to serve to perpetuate his memory." The sum of \$27,385 will be left for loaning to artificers if called for. At the conclusion of the legal contest in Philadelphia, in 1893, it was decided by the Boston trustees that the amount then due the city was \$322,490, and on Jan. 17, 1894, they paid, adding interest, the sum of \$329,300.48 to the city for the establishment of "Franklin Trade

Schools." The balance, to be employed like the original fund until July 1, 1991, was \$102,445.70.

Thanks to the systematic management of trust funds which now prevails, a more careful husbandry of the Franklin Funds may be expected for the second century of their existence. But the very low rate of interest now paid on safe investments will prevent any such increase as was anticipated by their founder.

Among the Great Trusts of this country must be classed a certain kind of institutions, numerous and familiar in the eastern sections, less known and less highly developed elsewhere. The SAVINGS BANKS of New England, New York, and of a few other States, are in reality charitable trusts; and the benefits which they confer upon the depositor and the borrower have made the people well-to-do, and have helped largely to create and develop many of the great internal improvements which have added to the comfort and prosperity of the body politic. No existing system for encouraging saving can be compared with this; for to no other system appertains the immense advantage resulting from the manner in which the savings banks loan out or invest the grand aggregate of the small sums which they receive, chiefly from the wage-earning portion of the community. It is curious to note that the savings banks of this country antedate those of Great Britain as chartered organizations. Friendly societies having the same object in view were established in Great Britain at the end of the last century; and such men on this side of the ocean as James Savage, of Boston, and Thomas Eddy, of New York City, interested themselves in the matter early in the century. "The Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston" was incorporated by the Legislature on December 13, 1816, and is the oldest chartered institution of its kind in the world.

The last published report of the Controller of the Cur-

rency contained an abstract of the reports of 677 "mutual" savings banks. Of this number four were in Ohio, five in Indiana, one in Wisconsin, and one in West Virginia. The remainder were all in the New England and Middle States. Returns were received from 311 "stock" savings banks, which are operated for the benefit of both shareholders and depositors, primarily for the former class. The total amount of deposits in the mutual banks was \$1,688,190,-603, and their total resources \$1,849,906,921, or more than twice the whole amount of the interest-bearing bonded debt of the national government.

The laws which govern the management of Savings Banks are the most strict in the States of New York and Massachusetts. The fiduciary character of these institutions is never overlooked by the legislatures of these States, which impose such restrictions upon the management and the modes of investment as secure to depositors the safety of their principal even though larger dividends might be temporarily secured by allowing greater latitude of investment with an increased risk of loss. Experience has shown the wisdom of this conservatism.

The Savings Banks of Massachusetts, numbering 187, had, on October 31, 1896, deposits of \$453,220,257, and a guaranty fund of \$19,044,522. Among their assets were: public funds, \$69,460,754; bank stock, \$28,435,189; bonds of New England railroads, \$49,379,500; mortgage loans on real estate within the Commonwealth, \$201,985,-142; loans on personal security (much of it with collateral), \$91,793,373; notes of counties, cities and towns, chiefly of Massachusetts, \$10,174,142.

The number of depositors in the Massachusetts Savings Banks was 1,340,668, or more than one-half the whole population. Allowing for the fact that some of the depositors live in other States, it is perhaps fair to estimate that 45 per cent. of the inhabitants of Massachusetts have deposits in the savings banks.

It is a noticeable fact that while savings banks originated in the older (northern) States, they have not followed, to any large extent, the growth and development of the other portions of the Union. Of course, where the great bulk of the laboring population was held in slavery, there were practically no earnings to be saved. The development of manufactures in some sections of the South, since the war, has led to the creation, here and there, of a few of these beneficent associations. In other portions of the country the private banker, who, appearing in the early life of a settlement, has received the deposits of those who would trust him, has been allowed to continue the business, sometimes to the profit of his depositors and sometimes to their loss. The rate of interest which could be paid by savings banks working under the same restrictions as to investment which prevail at the East, seems very low to a citizen of the West. And the writer has met with people to whom the handling of money had always meant a certain amount of profit, who could not see any justification to themselves in giving time and attention and wisdom gained by experience, to the custody and investment of the money of other people, when their valuable services were to be unremunerated and to be treated only as a labor of love.

As a substitute for savings banks, especially where such institutions do not exist, the creation of Post-Office savings banks, which are common abroad, has been earnestly advocated for some time. While we admit the great advantage which the people who have not a good savings bank existing in their neighborhood would derive from being able to deposit their savings directly with the government and to receive some fixed rate of interest for its use, the new system would by no means benefit the entire community in any such measure as does the old. It must be remembered that money so deposited would remain in the hands of the government, to be used precisely as are other government funds, any benefit to the community at large

being indirect and almost infinitesimal. Now the money deposited in the ordinary savings bank goes out at once on its errand of doing good. It helps the mechanic to secure a homestead; it enables State, city or town to carry out grand schemes of public improvements; aids in the construction of railroads; and assists many a private enterprise,—in all cases giving employment to labor. How could the national government extend help in these most essential and valuable ways of rendering aid? From what source, if it had not been from the savings banks, could the immense amount of money have been obtained which has gone into these channels during the past seventy or eighty years? What good use could be made by the national government of a sum which would be several times the amount of its present indebtedness? It is impossible to conceive of any system of encouraging and employing the savings of the people which could compare in beneficence and efficacy with the savings bank system as developed in New York and Massachusetts.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE roll of membership of January, 1897, with its changes in form and fact, will bear close inspection. Each associate is asked to inform the librarian of any errors, as well as of honors received or change of domicile. All acceptances since the Society's birth, in 1812, have been carefully gathered from the file of our general correspondence, and chronologically arranged. Thus we have secured not only a valuable manuscript catalogue, but an autographic collection of marked interest. The sentiments and promises contained in these communications should inspire our President with confidence, in his appeals to members for contributions to the Society's Proceedings. Our national character may well allow such calls to be sent to every State represented in the Society. It may also suggest a calling of the roll geographically instead of alphabetically—as is the custom of some learned societies.

A lottery projected for the American Antiquarian Society, but abandoned, was mentioned by your librarian at the October meeting of 1885, and the scheme given in detail in his report of April, 1886. The official steps which led up to it having been called for are herewith submitted. On June 1, 1814, the Society "voted that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for raising funds to erect a suitable edifice to contain the library and museum, and that the President and Professor Park be requested to prepare a nomination list of five members as suitable persons to serve on said committee and submit the same to the Society at their next meeting." In the "Journal of the Sub-Council of the American Antiquarian Society in the

vicinity of Worcester, Mass., beginning with their first meeting, February 15, 1815," under June 6, 1815, is the following: "Voted that Judge Bangs be a committee to draw up a subscription paper for lottery tickets to be presented to the members to sign in order to raise a fund for building an edifice for the library and cabinet, and for other purposes." Judge Bangs reported to the Sub-Council, June 26, 1815, "that on consulting the laws of the Commonwealth, he was of the opinion that a lottery of the kind proposed would be illegal unless a grant for the purpose could be obtained from the Legislature." On January 2, 1816, "the Sub-Council took under consideration a draft of a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts, praying for aid in erecting a building, *etc.* The petition as amended met their approbation, and the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was requested to copy it, get it signed by the committee, and have it presented." February 5, 1816, "the petition to the Legislature, presented by the Society's Committee on Ways and Means, for building, *etc.*, to grant a lottery for that purpose, was taken into consideration. The petition being now pending in the House of Representatives, it was voted that it is highly necessary the petition should be supported in this crisis of its passage; that the Hon. Levi Lincoln be a committee for that purpose, and that the President be requested also to attend on the Legislature respecting this business." March 4, 1816, "the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means reported the progress of the petition for a lottery, in the Legislature." May 8, 1816, "the petition to the Legislature taken under consideration. Hon. Mr. Lincoln, Jr., and the President, and the Hon. Francis Blake, were requested to continue their aid to the committee respecting this business." I find no further official act by Society, Council or Sub-Council. Four years later—in 1820—President Thomas gave the Summer-street hall, to which, in 1831, he added wings. Our main hall of

today was occupied in 1853, and the Salisbury Annex in 1877. The future home of the Society will doubtless be in a large place where there will be abundant space for the various departments, and a minimum danger from fire.

Our founder's life, as a young printer, is not fully accounted for, even in the admirable memoir by his grandson, Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas. I therefore submit an item recently found, in the handwriting of the great printer when a lad of fifteen or sixteen years. It is a chap-book called "TOM THUMB'S PLAY-BOOK; to teach children their LETTERS as soon as they can speak. BEING A new and pleasant method to allure LITTLE ONES in the first Principles of LEARNING." The entry reads: "Printed by I. Thomas when at 'prentice in 1764 for A. Barclay." I also call attention to a line title of a pamphlet of which Mr. Joseph Williamson says in a letter to your librarian dated May 16, 1884, "If found, I think it is the earliest book printed in Maine." Mr. Williamson is the well-known author of the two-volume "Bibliography of the State of Maine from the earliest period to 1891." The title referred to, which is from our own copy, follows: "A | TESTIMONY | CONCERNING | ACCEPTABLE WORSHIP | TO | ALMIGHTY GOD: | BY DENNIS GETCHEL. | Late of Vassalborough in New England. | PORTLAND: PRINTED BY THOMAS B. WAIT. | At his office in Fish street, 1794." 18° pp. 12.

The value of our newspaper files is often suggested. We have the only known copies of the first three issues of the first newspaper printed on what is now Prince Edward Island, then called the Island of Saint John. They have been typewritten entire for historical use in that maritime province. The paper is called "*The | American Gazette | and | Weekly Intelligencer* of the Island of Saint John. | Charlotte-Town: Printed by James Robertson." It is a large quarto of four pages, three columns to the page, including one column of advertisements in number one, and

three columns each in numbers two and three. The dates are September 15 and 29 and October 6, 1787. Thus by a modern process, the matter is returned to the town whence it was received by our founder nearly one hundred and ten years ago.

Having been asked to report in print any items regarding William Paine, M.D., one of our charter members, I submit from number 448, Saturday, January 13, 1781, of the "*Royal Gazette*, New York, published by James Rivington, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," the following: "ALL persons who have any demands upon, or are indebted to Dr. William Paine, of His Majesty's General Hospital gone for Europe, will please apply to Mr. Paine at No. 29 Golden Hill, who is empowered to settle his affairs."

The daily entries in the "Worcester House" register for 1836-37, have recently been studied by an applicant for the position of a United States letter carrier. A hasty glance at this volume, which reveals the autographs of persons of distinction, suggests the wisdom of preserving such records of names and residences. They have not only a local but sometimes a national bearing, apart from their general interest and market value. The Washington war registers of Willard's Hotel and the Ebbitt House, and the Eutaw House at Baltimore, as well as those of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, during periods of great political excitement, and so of conferences of party leaders, must show a curious combination of persons and interests.

The following paragraphs from a letter addressed to the librarian by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, will supplement notes in my reports of October, 1891, and October, 1892:

"You may recall some correspondence between us a few years back relating to one Rauschner, a modeller in wax, to whom you had alluded in your reports. The other day in looking over some old Philadelphia newspapers for some matter, I incidentally came across an advertisement in

Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette* for September 19, 1810, which is of considerable interest regarding him, as it fixes his correct name and gives some little of his personal history. 'JOHN C. RAUSCHNER respectfully acquaints the public that he hath returned to this city after an absence of nine years. He continues to take likenesses in wax composition in color, also family pieces.' "

Interest in our collection of text-books may be stimulated by the following references to "A | Rhyming Geography ; | Or, a Poetic Description | of the | United States of America, &c. | * * * By Victorianus Clark. | Hartford : | Printed by Peter B. Gleason & Co. | 1819." The preface announces that the author " * * * has found by repeated experiments, that facts expressed in concise and familiar rhymes may be committed with great facility and retained in the mind by one tenth and perhaps one hundredth part of the labour which would be requisite, were the memory to receive no such assistance." The author's novel efforts in the cause of education will perhaps best appear under the following illustrations of his plan. Under the general heading NEW ENGLAND, subject *Education*, we read :

"There's no spot on this earthly ball,
Where common people one and all,
Of male and female population,
Can boast of equal education."

Under UNITED STATES, subject *Colleges* :

"Of colleges the first of all,
Are Harvard, Yale and Nassau Hall.
Harvard (as by all allowed,)
Is oldest and the best endowed;
Yet as to numbers in the scale,
It ranks inferior to Yale."

Further information as to colleges follows :

VERMONT.

"This state a college doth maintain,
In Burlington, on Lake Champlain
And there's a college-seminary,
Established at Middlebury."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

“Here is established Dartmouth college,
In Hanover a pleasant village :
This noted college has of late,
Made much disturbance in the State.”

MASSACHUSETTS.

“Here two fine colleges are found ;
One Williams call'd at Williamstown,
And one styl'd Harvard, which takes date,
From sixteen hundred thirty-eight.
This is at Cambridge, and the scale
Presents it on a line with Yale.
Its library, upon inspection,
Is found to be a vast collection
Of nearly twenty thousand volumes,
All rang'd in ranks and solid columns.
In Andover's a seminary,
Entitled Philips' Academy,
By private generosity,
A school for pure Theology,
Of late was joined to this foundation,
To fit divines for ministration.”

RHODE ISLAND.

“Brown University is found
In Providence, on sightly ground ;
The rules of this establishment
Require a Baptist President.”

CONNECTICUT.

“Yale College, glory of the State,
Fix'd at New Haven, takes its date
From the year seventeen hundred one,
And ranks inferior to none.
The noted Cheshire Academy
Is quite a growing seminary.”

NEW YORK.

“Kings College (now Columbia,)
Erected by Britain-i-a,
In seventeen hundred fifty-four,
Is in New York, on Hudson's shore.
Schenectady, (a thriving village,
On Mohawk river,) has a college

Styl'd Union College, which of late
Has been an honour to the State.
And late at Clinton was erected,
Hamilton College—much respected.”

NEW JERSEY.

“The literary institution,
Styl'd Nassau-Hall is fix'd at Princeton :
This noted college takes its date
From seventeen hundred thirty-eight.
Queen's College at New Brunswick found,
Tho' flourishing is less renown'd.”

His poetic descriptions of states and territories are curious and interesting, but a brief couplet will suffice ; under *Character, etc.* :

MICHIGAN.

“No general character is fix'd,
The bulk are Roman Catholics.”

Nearly fifty years ago musical geography was taught in hall and vestry, but it was soon found that forgetting the tune, we had lost also a vivid knowledge of that particular section of our geography to which that special tune applied. There was no effort made to aid the memory by the rhyming process. Children of the tender age took part in the exhibitions and were vigorously applauded by their wondering parents and friends.

During six months ending the 15th instant, we have received gifts from three hundred and fifteen sources ; namely from fifty-one members, one hundred and thirty-two persons not members, and one hundred and thirty-two societies and institutions. From these sources have been received five hundred and forty-seven books, fifty-three hundred and forty-eight pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and sixty unbound volumes of newspapers, twenty-one engravings, seven proclamations, six seals, five charts, four medals, four photographs, one bronze medallion and one relic ; by exchange sixty books and forty-three pamphlets ; and from the bindery nineteen volumes of newspapers and fifty-

nine volumes of magazines ; making a total of six hundred and sixty-six books ; fifty-three hundred and ninety-one pamphlets, twenty-one bound and one hundred and sixty unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

Vice-President Hoar has added to his usual gift of books and pamphlets, historic medals and seals from England and a piece of the stone threshold of the church at Delft Haven near the spot where the Pilgrims embarked ; a considerable part of which he purchased and presented to the new First Church in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Dr. Reuben A. Guild, in sending his "Early History of Brown University, including the Life, Times and Correspondence of President Manning 1756-1791" writes : "I present as a loyal member of the society, my latest contribution to our Colonial and Revolutionary history, which has cost me patient labor for many years."

Hon. Henry A. Marsh has filled gaps in our Revolutionary file of the *Newport Mercury*; and Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens in accepting membership, forwarded his foolscap folio edition—1893—of "Christopher Columbus his own Book of Privileges, 1502," a photographic facsimile of the manuscript in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris.

Another associate, Mr. Henry P. Upham, has sent the first four volumes of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," to which he will add the other fifty-six volumes as they are issued. The value and fitness of this royal gift need hardly be mentioned, nor the fact that the great work is under the editorial supervision of one of our number, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites.

Under the direction of the library committee, the income from the various special book funds has been carefully drawn upon for material in their respective lines. Such funds constantly remind the library staff of the givers, living and dead, who are thus building their monuments of learning for us and for those who are to come after. The ten volumes of the Century Dictionary recently se-

cured—which will bear the George E. Ellis book-plate—have been placed in the open alcove provided for such authorities.

The Duc de Loubat has presented a facsimile in form, color and binding of “Il Manoscritto | Messicano Vaticano 3773. | Reprodotto In Fotocromografia | a spese | Di S. E. Il. Duca Di Loubat | a Cura | Della Biblioteca Vaticana | Roma | Stabilimento Danesi | 1896.”

Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike has presented “In the Old Days,” by his mother, the late Mrs. Elizabeth Bigelow Updike. It is a brief description of a Worcester home-stead. The family—whose name is left in doubt, even by the internal evidence—was that of Hon. Abijah Bigelow of Worcester, for years an honored member of this society. The house so carefully described, which stood upon Front street, corner of Church, became the first City Hospital, and the land is now devoted wholly to business purposes.

Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., has placed in our alcove of genealogy “Winthrop of Groton and Allied Families.” The work—which comprises the first four parts of Muskett’s “Suffolk Manorial Families,”—is in sumptuous binding.

We acknowledge to Columbia University a box of duplicates, chiefly relating to the southern and southwestern States. This gift is made not only in view of the early removal of the library to its new and spacious quarters at Morningside Park and for service rendered, but in view also of the fact that this is the *American Antiquarian Society*. Amherst College has sent from its duplicate room material to strengthen our department of college literature, now brought together in our stack-room.

In the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1893, recently received, is a “Preliminary List of American Learned and Educational Societies,” prepared by Stephen B. Weeks, Ph.D. In the grouping adopted by Dr. Weeks, the brief but accurate account of

this society and its mission, appears on pages 1616 and 1617. It is the first entry under "Department XI. Archaeology, Numismatics and Philately," and the sub-heading is, very properly, "National."

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895, duly received, contains Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin's valuable "Bibliography of American Historical Societies (the United States and the Dominion of Canada), reprinted with additions and revision from the Annual Reports of the American Historical Association for 1890 and 1892." Our members will note the following important *errata*: page 685, last line, omit Plate; page 686 for Samuel Mitchell read Samuel L. Mitchell; page 687 for usually read also; page 688 omit Reprinted; page 689 see dates not in exact order; page 695 for Cypres read *cypres*, for C. S. Chase read C. A. Chase and for Franklin J. Dexter, read Franklin B. Dexter; page 697 for Lindall Reynolds, read Grindall Reynolds; page 700, for Transactions read Proceedings; and page 701, omit Paine's list of Portraits and Busts, which, in the form referred to, was published in their Register by the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Each society represented might be requested to examine the proof-sheets touching its own publications.

The broad view which this society has always taken of its relations with kindred societies, has not been narrowed by its intense desire to protect its treasures. By direction of the library committee a favorable response has recently been made to a request from our associate, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, which follows: "We have in the Lenox Library a copy of the Vermont Laws of 1779, lacking the greater part of the title-page and portions of some other leaves. I write to ask whether it would be possible to obtain the loan of the American Antiquarian Society's copy of the same book long enough to have the missing pages photographed or copied in facsimile? The work would be done in the Lenox building under my supervision."

Thus for all practical purposes the Lenox copy—now in the “New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations”—is complete. As the break in the copy mentioned is at the beginning, and in ours at the end of the volume, both copies can be made perfectly useful by applying the doctrine of reciprocity. Since the above was written, Hon. Russell S. Taft of the Supreme Court of Vermont has supplied the missing pages in facsimile, our need having been suggested to him by Mr. Eames.

It is a privilege to note a growing disposition to name historical societies after the State, valley, County, city or town whose history it is specially intended to secure. An occasional use is also made of the Indian name of the territory to be studied. An attractive name is of the first importance, yet one which, even to the young, will seem locally appropriate and not forbidding.

Our duplicate room has furnished material to Fairmount College, both by way of exchange and by direct gift. The Worcester Isolation Hospital has also received duplicate periodical literature whose market value had been destroyed by the clipping process. We have gladly rendered illustrative service the past winter in connection with President G. Stanley Hall's lectures under the auspices of the Worcester teachers, and in other ways have tried to keep in touch with the educational movements of the day.

I have thought it timely to call your attention to our large and curious collection of amateur newspapers, which now covers a period of more than fifty years. A peculiar personal interest attaches to a few of the earlier files. For instance, Samuel Foster Haven, Jr., son of our late distinguished librarian, was editor of *The Minute Gun*, a preliminary number of which bears the pencilled date, 1844. The regular series of twenty-nine numbers was issued from September 11, 1845, to July 2, 1846, inclusive. Its motto was “*Tandem fit surculus arbor*” and it was published at Worcester every Thursday; terms two cents a

month, payable in advance. We have three papers of which Charles Augustus Chase, now our Recording Secretary, was "editor, proprietor and printer" many years before he became the successful assistant editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*: 1. *The Joker*, printed upon one side of a small sheet and dated in pencil, 1845; 2. *The Humble Bee*, begun January 1, 1846, and completed in twenty-four numbers, June 23, 1846. Its motto was *Multum in parvo*, and terms three cents for four numbers, payable in advance; 3. *The Bee*, first issued July 9, 1846, and of which we have but the second, July 23, third, Sept. 21, and fourth, Oct. 1, numbers. Under the title there stands among the flowers a most attractive bee-hive, and below it the motto *Hinc . . . dulcia mella premes*. In the second issue of *The Humble Bee* we are reminded that the child is father to the man, not only by an original fable in the Latin tongue, but by reading therein "mind your own business, be temperate, take the *Humble Bee* and pay for it, and you will enjoy a happy life." Number 17 of Mr. Chase's second venture contains—in a poem by Clio, entitled "Worcester Continued"—a brief reference to this institution, as follows:

"Onward's the word which we must heed,
And hasten now with greater speed
Than has our footsteps marked of late,
And, passing through that iron gate,
A moment which we have to spare,
Devote to things collected there:
Some sixteen thousand books, or more,
Of ancient and of modern lore,
And pamphlets, manuscripts and maps,
And heathen gods, and Indian caps,
And bows and quivers, darts and spears,
And relics of a thousand years;
And portraits of the wise and great,
Who've been revered in church and state,
Are here arranged with care and skill,
And wait the Antiquary's will,
To be perused, or proudly shown
By those who claim the Hall to own.

If you have read these volumes through!
Our journey we will now pursue."

In the final number of *The Humble Bee*, i.e., for June 23, 1846, under "Clio Concluded" we find—referring of course to the editor and printer—the following :

"Charlie, farewell! It grieves my heart,
To know that we so soon must part.
A moment stop and take a chair,—
Not in the current of the air,—
But on the sofa here with me;
I've many things to say to thee.
Incog. I've written, I confess,
And watched thee toiling at the *press*;
And seen thy fingers nimbly place
The *types* within the iron *chase*;
The ink was spread, the *sheet* was laid,
And the *impression* fairly made.
A flush was on thy youthful cheek,
Which spoke (or seemed to me to speak,)
In language which you might construe,
'See what a lad like *me* can do.'
And when I looked on thee again,
'T was hard my feelings to restrain.
The boy has triumphed now, I thought,
And as I turned my head, I caught
The joy that sparkled in thy eye,
When waiting for the *proof* to dry.

Charles, the voyage of life with thee
Is just begun. A distant sea
Awaits thee,—and upon its tide
This fragile bark of thine must ride;—
The little stream that bears thy boat,
Just large enough for it to float,
Is gentle now, and flowers are seen
To deck its banks of living green.
Anon, the stream becomes more wide,—
Thy bark is tossed, and now the tide
Begins to ebb, and then to flow;
Yet on, and on, thou still must go.
The rocks are here, the shoals are there,
And unseen dangers everywhere.
Trust not, my friend, while on this sea,
In *human* skill to pilot thee,
But in the arm of Him who said
'Behold! 't is I, be not afraid.' "

The Lilliputian, commenced by Boyden and Green on March 6, 1856, was continued by James Green, Jr., the younger brother of our councillor, Mr. Samuel S. Green. In his last issue, that of June 19, 1856, the discouraged editor and proprietor says: "We have often requested an increase of our subscription list. We are now glad that our request has not been granted; for as it is, we are well tired dunning our debtors; what should we do if we had more subscribers?"

The Philippic of 1876 suggests the name of its sole proprietor, Philip M. Washburn, now a faithful minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church; while *The Monohippic Gazette*, Ernest L. Thayer, editor, reminds one of his later work on *The Harvard Lampoon*. I will only add to these brief notes Mr. Thayer's farewell: "Friends, Countrymen and Seniors, may we all meet hereafter where there is nothing monohippic. Born September 20, 1880, died October 11 of the same year, after a brief but precocious existence."

The papers selected for notice were all controlled by boys who, as young men, were honorably graduated from Harvard College. It would be interesting to list the editors who, as members, have labored for the upbuilding of this Society. The name of our founder, Isaiah Thomas, and that of his friend, Benjamin Russell, will occur to you as charter members; and—not to refer to the living—I need only mention Christopher C. Baldwin, William Lincoln, Samuel F. Haven and Alexander H. Bullock as some of their worthy successors in the editorial chair.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ANGELL, JAMES B., LL.D., Ann Arbor, Mich.—“University of Michigan. Quarter Centennial of the Presidency of James B. Angell, 1896.”
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—“St. Andrew’s Cross,” and “Worcester’s Young Men,” in continuation; and two photographs.
- BARTON, WILLIAM SUMNER, Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- BLISS, EUGENE F., Cincinnati, O.—Six Annual Reports of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Virginia newspapers containing articles by him; and one pamphlet.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His “British Convicts shipped to American Colonies.”
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Oxford Edition, 1885, of the Revised Version of the Holy Bible; and five pamphlets.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—“Nathaniel Massie, a Pioneer of Ohio. A sketch of his life.”
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Three of his essays on early banks and currency.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Thirty-eight selected books; and ninety-four pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—His “Ancestry of John Davis and Eliza Bancroft”; one book; and two pamphlets.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His “Recollections of the life of John Glenn”; his “Address at the Presentation of Thorwaldsen’s Statue of Christ to Johns Hopkins Hospital”; and one pamphlet.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., *Chairman*, New York.—“Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.”
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Five of his own publications; nine books; one hundred and seventy-three pamphlets; two files of newspapers; one map; one photograph; one proclamation; and the “Journal of Numismatics,” as issued.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His “Report for 1895-96 as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester.”
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—Two books; one hundred and fourteen pamphlets; and eleven photographs.

- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—His "Early History of Brown University, including the Life, Times and Correspondence of President Manning."
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Savannah, Ga.—The Charleston centennial medal.
- HODDLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Four Connecticut proclamations.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Three of his own publications; a framed medallion of Bishop John Hooper; four bronze portrait medals of early date; a piece of the stone threshold of the Church at Delft Haven, near the spot where the Pilgrims embarked; twenty-four books; two hundred and sixty-five pamphlets; six files of newspapers; six old Gloucester seals; and material relating to the John Robinson Memorial Church.
- HOYT, ALBERT H., Boston.—His "Memorial sketch of Lucius Robinson Paige, D.D."
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—"The Parish Year Book of Grace Church, New York, 1897."
- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Providence, R. I.—His "Dictionary of United States History, 1492-1895."
- LEÓN, NICOLAS, Guadalupe, Mex.—One pamphlet.
- LORD, ARTHUR, Plymouth.—One newspaper file.
- MARSH, Hon. HENRY A., Worcester.—Ten numbers of the "Newport Mercury," 1764-1788; and three other early newspapers.
- MASON, EDWARD G., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—His "Address at the New Home of the Chicago Historical Society."
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—One hundred and five pamphlets; and "The Nation," in continuation.
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- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., *Commissioner*, Lancaster.—"The Seventh Report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts."
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Twelve books; four hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; twenty-six engravings; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PERRY, Rt. Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—The "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Dorechester.—One pamphlet.
- PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—His "Tribute to Henry Wheatland"; and "Report of 1896 as Curator of the Peabody Museum."
- ROGERS, Hon. HORATIO, *Chairman*, Providence, R. I.—"Early Records of the Town of Providence." Vol. XI.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Sixty-four books; four hundred and sixty pamphlets; one photograph; one proclamation; and eleven files of newspapers, in continuation.

SHAW, ALBERT, Ph.D., New York.—Two pamphlets.

SMITH, WILLIAM A., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

SMYTH, REV. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—Two pamphlets.

STEARNS, HON. EZRA S., Rindge, N. H.—“Dedication of the Sullivan Monument at Durham, September 27, 1894,” containing an introduction by Mr. Stearns; and “Roll of New Hampshire Men at Louisburg, Cape Breton, 1745.”

STEVENS, BENJAMIN F., *Editor*, London, Eng.—“Christopher Columbus, his Own Book of Privileges, 1502,” facsimile.

THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—His “Annual Report 1896, as Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.”

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—“The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,” Vols. 1-4.

WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—Three historical pamphlets.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—His “The Cabot Controversies and the Right of England to North America”; and his “Nineteenth Report as Librarian of Harvard University.”

WRIGHT, HON. CARROLL D., Washington, D. C.—Publications of the Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

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AMERICAN TYPE FOUNDERS COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—“One Hundred Years of MacKellar, Smiths and Jordan Foundry, 1796-1896.”

BAILEY, ISAAC H., New York.—The “Shoe and Leather Reporter,” as issued.

BANCROFT, REV. CECIL F. P., *Moderator*, Andover.—“Report of the Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Council, Lowell, Nov. 18, Dec. 2, 16, 23, 1796.”

BARTON, MISS CLARA, Washington, D. C.—Her “Report of America’s Relief Expedition to Asia Minor under the Red Cross.”

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—The “Association Record,” in continuation.

BIGELOW, MRS. JOHN W., Cambridge.—The “Blue Book of Cambridge, 1894”; and one pamphlet.

BLAKE, CHARLES C., Chicago, Ill.—Two pamphlets.

BLAKE, FRANCIS E., Boston.—His “Soldiers of the Revolution, Princeton, Mass.”

BOLTON, CHARLES K., Brookline.—His “Librarian’s Duty as a Citizen.”

- BROOKS, REV. WILLIAM HENRY, D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—Two Diocesan reports.
- BROUSSEAU, LEGER, Quebec, P. Q.—Numbers of "Le Courier du Livre."
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- BROWNE, FRANCIS F., Chicago, Ill.—The "Dial," as issued.
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- BURTON, C. M., Detroit, Mich.—His "Cadillac's Village, or Detroit under Cadillac, with list of property owners"; and one pamphlet.
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—"The Army and Navy Journal," in continuation.
- CHAPMAN, REV. EDWARD M., Worcester.—"First Church of Christ, old Saybrook, Conn., 1646-1896," containing Mr. Chapman's address.
- CHASE, MRS. WILLIAM L., Brookline.—"In Memory of William Leverett Chase."
- CHEEVER, REV. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—The "Hawaiian Gazette," in continuation.
- CLARK, CHARLES C. P., Oswego, N. Y.—His "The Commonwealth Reconstructed."
- COBB, WILLIAM H., Boston.—One pamphlet.
- COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.
- CONATY, REV. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—The "Catholic School and Home Magazine," as issued.
- CRANDALL, F. A., Washington, D. C.—His "Second Annual Report as Superintendent of Documents."
- CRANE, JOHN C., Millbury.—His "Major-General Burbank, a Paper Maker."
- CUNNINGHAM, JAMES, *Editor*, Worcester.—"History and Year Book of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Worcester, 1896."
- CUSHING, HARRY A., Ph.D., New York.—His "History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth in Massachusetts."
- DABNEY, CHARLES W., Jr., Boston.—His "Progress of Southern Agriculture."
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- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—The Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1897.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of the "Bookman."
- DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—The "Messenger," as issued.
- DRAPER, JAMES, *Secretary*, Worcester.—"Annual Report of the Worcester Parks Commission for 1896."
- DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Report for 1896 as President of Yale University.
- EARLE, STEPHEN C., Worcester.—Eighteen directories; twenty-two pamphlets; and the "New York Semi-Weekly Post" for 1861.
- ELECTRICAL DOINGS PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "Electrical Doings."
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- LANDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, Columbus, O.—Numbers of the "Antiquarian."
- LATCH, EDWARD B., Frankford, Pa.—His second paper on "The Mosaic System and the Standing Stone on Big Round Top."
- LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "Contemporary Review," and "Nineteenth Century."
- LOTHROP PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of the "Library Bulletin."
- LOUBAT, DUC DE, Paris, France.—Reproduction of the Codice Messicano Vaticano, No. 3773; and three pamphlets relating thereto.
- MCGILLICUDDY, REV. DANIEL F., Worcester.—His "The Church in Worcester."
- MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—"Book Reviews," as issued.
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- METHUEN AND COMPANY, London, Eng.—Two pamphlets.
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- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NEW YORK WORLD COMPANY.—The "World Almanac and Encyclopedia," 1897.
- OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—The "Open Court," as issued.
- PACIFIC NORTHWEST COMPANY, Portland, Ore.—The "Pacific Northwest," as issued.

PIETTE, EDOUARD, Rumigny, France.—Three of his ethnographical essays.

POMEROY, JAMES E., Worcester.—“Christmas Greeting,” 1896.

PRAIL AND COMPANY, F. P., New York.—Numbers of “The Wheel.”

PUTNAM, EBEN, *Editor*, Salem.—Numbers of his monthly “Historical Magazine.”

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RAYMOND, EDWARD T., Worcester.—An early masonic pamphlet.

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ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—The “Barre Gazette,” as issued.

ROY, J. ARTHUR, Worcester.—“*Le Worcester Canadien*” for 1897.

SALEM GAZETTE COMPANY.—The “Daily Gazette,” as issued.

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—“Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,” as issued.

SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Massachusetts Board of Education, Report for 1894-95.

SMITH, MISS SUSAN A., North Pembroke.—Her “Ancestors of Moses Belcher Bass.”

SOULE, NICHOLAS E., Worcester.—The “Hieroglyphick Bible,” a Thomas imprint, Worcester, 1788.

SOUTHERN IMMIGRANT COMPANY, Memphis, Tenn.—Numbers of their “Homeseeker.”

SPRAGUE, HON. AUGUSTUS B. R., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His “Inaugural Address, January 4, 1897.”

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Worcester Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—His “Christmas Meditation.”

START, MISS CORA A., Worcester.—One hundred and sixty-six college pamphlets and American magazines.

STONE AND COMPANY, HERBERT S., Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of the “Chap Book.”

SUN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“Worcester Sun,” as issued.

SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—His “Ninth Report on Public Records, 1897.”

- TAFT, HON. RUSSELL S., Burlington, Vt.—Reprint of two leaves of the “Vermont Laws of 1779.”
- TATMAN, CHARLES T., Worcester.—His “Sonnet to an old coin.”
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY, Worcester.—The “Worcester Telegram” and “Sunday Telegram,” for 1895-6, in binding.
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- TRAVELER’S INSURANCE COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—The “Traveler’s Record,” as issued.
- TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—The “Collector,” as issued.
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- WINTHROP, ROBERT C., JR., Boston.—“Evidences of the Winthrops of Groton, Co. Suffolk, England.”
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FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

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- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.—Publication No. 189.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The “Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Annual Report of 1896.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

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BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, June 17, 1896.

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CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

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NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—"The Ninety-First Anniversary Celebration, December 22, 1896."

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- SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society's Papers, Vol. XXIV.
- SOUTHERN HISTORY ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.
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WEDNESDAY CLUB, Worcester.—All Saints' Kalendar for Lent, 1897; and portrait of Bishop William Lawrence.

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WORCESTER, CITY OF.—City documents of 1895 and 1896; and Laws and Revised Ordinances, 1895.

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YALE UNIVERSITY.—Catalogue of 1896-97.

THE PERMANENCE OF THE GREEK TYPE.

BY EDWIN A. GROSVENOR.

WHEN, a year ago, I was elected to membership in this learned body, I esteemed it a high and valued honor. Now, when, for a brief season, through the invitation of our distinguished President, I have the further honor of holding your attention and directing the current of your thoughts, I can discover no theme more congenial to my own feelings and experience, and more appropriate to the hour, than the topic I have chosen—The Permanence of the Greek Type.

This Society, in conformity to its baptismal name, “Antiquarian,” has its eye fastened upon the past. The word “American,” prefixed in its title, is not only more specific but broader. It indicates not merely a people or a continent. It is synonymous with that larger outlook and those wider sympathies which render our national patronymic cosmopolitan in idea and far-reaching as the race.

The political gaze of today is riveted upon the East. Our strained ears have been listening every morning to catch the echoes of cannon booming along the fastnesses of Epirus and the slopes of many-ridged Olympus. Mingled in strange intimacy with the telegram and editorial of our daily journal have been the tales and enthusiasms of school-boy and college days, when, through the characters of an unfamiliar tongue, we thrilled to Miltiades and Marathon, and Homer with the matchless story of Achilles and the Plain of Troy. So the war just raging under a Grecian sky differs to us from every other. It seems blent with and a part of struggles which the same people, or a people of the same name carried on in behalf of humanity two thousand, two thousand five hundred, three thousand years ago.

Colonel Vassos, Prince George, Edhem Pasha, Osman Pasha, Ellassouna, Larissa, the Milouna Pass, seem but later names for Themistocles, Leonidas, Artaphernes, Mardonios, Thebes, Plataea. To imagination, marshalling the combatants, this actual war is but the latest agonizing episode of a strife which began when Darius Hystaspes marched against the Scythians, and the Ionian cities sprang into revolt.

Yet in many a mind the question arises, How far is the heroic present a lineal continuation of the heroic past? How far is the living Greek representative and incarnation of those Greeks so many centuries under the sod? Does the Greek race of today resemble some ducal line of England, where, after the earlier house has become extinct, rank and name are perpetuated by men on whom the same proud titles and wide domains are bestowed, but who can boast not one drop of blood or one family lineament in common with the original possessors?

A prominent senator of the United States, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, asked me in Washington a few days since, "Is there any connection between the ancient and modern Greeks?" A cultured lady of my acquaintance remarked last week, in a sentence that had the sting of an epigram, "The Greeks are the spoiled children of memory." The editor of one of our foremost monthlies wrote, last March, with cruel flippancy, "There is no evidence that the modern Greeks are capable of engaging in anything more heroic than the wearing of petticoats, the selling of dried currants and the cheating of the national creditor." Such unfavorable sentiments, perhaps expressed less harshly, are by no means uncommon. Generally such remarks fall only from the lips of persons who never trod Greek soil, yet they may be sometimes heard from men who have lived in the East and are presumably well informed. For example, I never met an English ship-captain who did not speak of the Greeks with aversion and perhaps contempt.

The object of this paper is to answer the question, How far does the modern Greek seem to be the child of, and how far does he resemble, the ancient Greek? Does he touch him only by the coincidence of habitation, by the mere incident of dwelling on the ground which the long-since dead have rendered memorable and historic, or is he legitimate descendant in his father's house? Are the accents with which he speaks ancestral? Do his physical and mental traits bear witness that they have come down to him through the centuries as an heirloom from Hellenic stock?

I shall endeavor in reply to utter, not the words of a partisan, but only those of truth and soberness. Yet, while seeking above all to be sincere, I make no pretence to a real or simulated indifference of mind. Though six thousand miles away from that transparent air and that cloudless sky and those marble shores, I recall gratefully that many of the best, happiest, most fruitful months of my life have been spent among the Greeks, upon the European mainland, in Asia Minor and on their enchanted isles. I recall gratefully days, weeks, it has been my privilege to pass in Greek monasteries and Greek homes, long lingering at Greek boards, cherished intimacy with Greek friends, acquaintance profitable and inspiring with Greeks of all classes, from the humble tradesman to his Holiness the Greek Patriarch on the Ecumenical Throne.

First of all, in the parallel we seek to institute we must compare the modern Greek with the ancient Greek as the ancient Greek really was. That is, we must not compare the modern with some ideal which never existed but is only the figment of our admiring but distorted fancy. Otherwise we do injustice to the modern and to the ancient as well. On a dizzy pedestal limned by a blinding halo we are wont to place the men and women of the classic past. Like the writer in holy writ, we know there were giants in ancient days, and so we are prone to picture them all as

superhuman and colossal. We choose the fairest, bravest, wisest, of remote antiquity, and infer their fellow countrymen and countrywomen were all like them.

It is only an accursed hand which tears a single laurel leaf from the grave of buried renown. The ceaseless homage of two thousand years has not paid the debt humanity owes the arts, literature and heroism of Greece. Religion, civilization, freedom, will be her beneficiaries to the end of time. Yet even in that land which seems so peerless there was by no means universal virtue and light. All the Greeks, most of the Greeks, were not preëminent or illustrious or models for their own time or posterity any more than they were all swift-footed as Choræbus or strong as Milo. The nearer we gaze upon their faces, the clearer we discern that the average Greek was not a demi-god but distinctively, paganly human, as imperfect and defective as his fellows before or since. We recount the thirty-one immortal cities which withstood and defeated Xerxes. Then we stretch the mantle of their glory over the more numerous known or nameless Grecian cities which welcomed the Persian hordes, or yielded without resistance. We know there were six thousand freemen at Athens, and with instinctive reverence at the thought of their tyrant-defying liberty, forget the existence in that same city of five times as many slaves. We recall the temples to divine, calm-browed Athena, and forget they were outnumbered by altars to Hermes, worshipped indeed as the god of eloquence, but above all as the god of thieves. We forget that skill in deceit no less than indifference to pain or death was a branch of Spartan training. The prevailing sentiment which divinifies the average ancient Greek is no less preposterous than it is inaccurate and unjust. The saintly virtuous, the sublimely heroic, the abnormally gifted, shone like solitary stars among them as they have done in all ages everywhere. Few were austere poor as Phocion, truth-telling as Epaminondas, devout as Socrates.

The modern, like the ancient Greeks are few in number, and like them are a widespread race. Wherever there is business to be done and a fortune to be acquired, thither some of them wander. Still the great majority, perhaps five millions, inhabit the very places in which they are found in early times. They love best nearness to the sea. Thus their adventurous maritime and commercial enterprise enjoys fullest scope. The tiny kingdom of free Greece, hardly more than half the size of classic Hellas, or of the state of Maine, contains nearly two million two hundred thousand. In the Ottoman Empire, a fringe of Greek population lines every shore, densest along the entire western coast of the Egean. Wherever the stranger quits his steamer, as he follows the vast periphery of Asia Minor, from the Colchis of Jason and the Trapesus of Xenophon to the Gulf of Issus and the harbor of Alexandretta, and then along the Syrtes of Africa, he will be rowed to land by a Greek boatman, eat and sleep in a Greek *locanda*, present his bill of exchange to a Greek banker, and find in every department of interest and activity the omnipresent, restless Greek.

Generations successive in the same localities from age to age must follow the same pursuits. The occupation of a people is determined more by physical and geographic circumstances than by individual will. The Almighty when he planted the earliest Hellenes amid rocky islands and upon mountainous mainland, so deep-cut with tongue-like gulfs and bays as to seem a maze of peninsulas, debarred them from cultivation of the ground and forced them to gain their bread as fishers, sailors and tradesmen. The development of our last inventive age has little modified their pursuits, for their rock-ribbed soil affords neither coal nor iron, the two essentials for manufacturing industry. Their land contains no other treasures in its bosom than the marbles from which in olden times they reared the temples of their gods.

In the seclusion of one's study the American pictures the islands, the headlands, the river-basins of Greece. He

endows them with an opulence of natural wealth and charm, in which mythologic oreads and water nymphs might revel to satiety. If cherished hope of travel becomes fruition, from the deck the voyager watches for the first peak emerging in the eastern horizon, and then peers hungrily to discern some Grecian strand lashed by the waves of the far-sounding sea. The mainland and the islands indeed possess luxuriant valleys and sheltered nooks where nature displays vegetables, fruits and flowers in profusion. These rare paradises are seldom visible from the coast, and almost never seen by the stranger. Nothing more dreary and disenchanting can be conceived than the arid outline of Greece and Asia Minor. Even association and glowing romance fail to robe them with beauty. One marvels that human beings can find sustenance amid those sands and rocks. The sterile, stony, grudging soil seems repeating the ancient proverb of Attica, that, Greece can produce no corn and but scanty wine and oil, nothing but men!

Nature leads us to infer that what the old Greek was, the new Greek must be. The same factors always force the same results. This truth applies no more to national occupations than to prominent characteristics of a people and their physical and moral traits. There can be little of that indolence here which we associate with India and Egypt. In the sweat of thy face must thou eat bread, was never more verified than to him who would pursue a farmer's calling in Greece. Economy, frugality, temperance, follow in the train of hard and unremunerative labor. The sailor, the son of seamen, and the merchant, the son of tradesmen, will of necessity develop and possess every characteristic of his class. Whether those professions are exercised in the remote half-fabulous days of primitive antiquity, or now when every farthest corner is revealed, the veil of mystery torn away and most distant waters ferried with lines of steamers, the sailor is the same daring, jovial, generous being he was when they first went down to the sea in ships.

So too, they, situate at the entry of the sea, the merchants of the people for many isles, are no more susceptible of change. The Greek husbandman, the Greek sailor, the Greek trader of today—and these three comprehend the vast majority of the nation—must each be what he was when the one pruned the olive-trees of Attica and gleaned the vines of Thessaly, when the other breasted the rolling billows of Gibraltar and defied the storms of the Baltic, when the third set up his counting-house in the murky harbors of Britain, and traded the gold of Africa for the tin and amber of the North.

Thus far we have discussed this subject from a single standpoint. The same conditions being given in the present as in the past, we have inferred what would naturally ensue.

Now let us pass to other ground. Let us place the ancient and modern Greek side by side, face to face, and see whether they are alike and akin.

The classic writers abound in description of the ancient national type. No other people, not even the Jews and Romans, possess in the gallery of nations a portraiture so definite and detailed. We read of the olive tint, the ebon hair, the cold and coal-black eye. The shapely head, the oval contour of the face, the forehead broad and low, stand out not only from old narrations but from countless statues and carvings still preserved. The nose, the prominent feature of the face, affords unerring indication as to the nationality of those peoples who have developed an individual type. Applying this nasal test, the Ottoman, the Armenian, the Roman and the Jew cannot possibly be confounded. The nose of the Greek, straight, angular, clear-cut, refined, is as peculiarly his own. In a museum at Athens one beholds more than eighty marble busts, chiselled prior to the Christian era during the lifetime of the persons whom they represent. From the calm repose of this museum the visitor turns to the crowded, tumultuous

street. With eager scrutiny he contemplates the hurrying throng, and is thrilled at the striking sameness between the features distinct on the marble busts and in the glowing faces of the passers-by. Yet Athens is, of all towns in Greece, the least advantageous in which to observe the people. Far better are those sequestered, quiet places, which a foreign foot has rarely trodden, and where dialect, habits and ideas have been little modified in two thousand years. Such a region is the tiny archipelago of Pente Nesoi, the Five Islands, south of Khelidoni Bournou, the ancient *Sacrum Promontorium* of Lycia. The centuries before Christ seem repeated there in this Christian century. The inhabitants of Plymouth and Salem in Massachusetts differ many fold more from the Pilgrim and the Puritan than do the Greeks of the Sporades and Cyclades from the race of which we read in our text-books. At Pente Nesoi, at Samos, at Scio, I have seen physical types of beauty similar in artistic appearance and equal in statuesque perfection to anything which sculpture has handed down. As the historian Byzantios remarked in 1863, "Were Phidias or Apelles to return to earth today, they would find among us at San Dimitri, Smyrna or the Islands as worthy subjects for their chisel or brush as existed in the days of Pericles and Alexander."

The most beautiful woman I ever met in Asia Minor was a Greek girl at Cyzicus. In the cold radiance of her wonderful beauty, she seemed as emotionless and as soulless as chiselled marble. Like that ill-fated daughter of her people who brought calamity on Greece and Troy, she was most divinely fair. Yet she was only an ignorant water-carrier and household servant. One year afterwards every building in the village was destroyed by fire, and a few weeks later the poor girl perished from starvation. At her side my memory places another, a high-born lady, the wife of Alexander Pasha, Prince of Samos and formerly Governor of Crete. To my eyes her jewels were no more

dazzling than her face. She too died and rests in a mausoleum worthy of a queen. Unlike all else, these two represented the perfect flowering of their race.

One is well repaid for entering some Greek assembly, or visiting some spot where the people are wont to congregate. It may be the village market, or a popular café, or the University while the students are pouring out, or the hall of the Boulé, the legislative chamber. What marked the former frequenters of the agora and pnyx which may not be witnessed there? There is the same vivacity and swiftness of utterance, the same copious stream of words, the same sharpness at repartee, the same heat and passion over trifles, the same desire to speak and want of readiness to listen. Always is heard the inquisitive tone that hardly waits for an answer, and the time is passed in the telling rather than the hearing of some new thing.

The casual glance remarks their similarity to their ancestors in appearance and demeanor, but it can hardly reveal how near they feel toward them in point of time. In that strange obliviousness to the flight of years, characteristic of the Greek, the distant past seems to him the border-land of today. The Basils, Justinian, Plato, Agamemnon, become almost contemporary of each other and of him. Constantine XIII., Palaiologos, the Greek hero-emperor who fell before the hosts of Mohammed II. in 1453, seems closer to the modern Greek than does Washington to us. He talks and thinks of mythologic and classic personages as if he had known them, or as if his father did. Once while visiting Mount Athos I remarked on the arm of my muleteer the tattooed effigy of an ancient warrior. "Whom does that represent?" I asked him. "It is the picture of one of our people, called Achilleus, who fought over there." Meanwhile he pointed eastward toward the Sigæan promontory behind which flow the Simois and Scamander. His untaught eye could not have deciphered a single letter of the Iliad, and his knowledge, hardly more than ignorance, was

most vague of that ten years' siege. He was sure, however, that, whether the fight took place a hundred or a thousand years before, his fellow-countryman Achilles was the principal warrior.

Retention of ancient names has done much to bring into almost personal contact the widely separated ages of the present and past. An Italian physician once boasted to me that in Italy people almost never called their children after the ancient Romans. The Greeks maintain a different custom. Men and women alike rejoice to bear the old glorious names. The first class I ever taught after graduating from Amherst consisted entirely of Greek youths. Among them were a Xenophon, a Pericles, a Socrates and a Solon. Each one bore his title with a half-consciousness that it was transmitted to him with his blood. Once in the class-room I had occasion to repeat the word "Mene-laus." A new student just entering came quickly forward and said "Here I am, Sir," thinking I had spoken to him.

Yet similarity of name is trivial in comparison with identity of speech. The essential oneness of the Greek language through almost thirty centuries is a linguistic marvel without a parallel. Exposed to every vicissitude of fortune, outnumbered and overborne by successive barbarian conquerors, schools shut up and education forbidden through many decades, crushed under a poverty and servitude which the occidental can faintly conceive, the suffering children of the deathless race have always held communion with each other in the same deathless tongue. Modifications have crept upon inflection and terminology, foreign words have wormed themselves in, the participle and dative with the infinitive have been almost forgotten. Yet there is less resemblance between the English of Wicliffe and Horace Greeley than between the Greek of Xenophon and the Athenian newspaper of today. The English language has changed more in four centuries than the Greek language has done in a period sevenfold as long. Nine out

of ten words, made familiar in our academic study of the classics, are still in daily use. The inhabitant of Italy speaks Italian; save in the synagogue, Hebrew is forgotten by the Jew; but in every Greek community the signs over the shops, the names of the streets, the terms of salutation, the epithets of the market, are the same now as they were before Romulus founded Rome.

Thus far we have considered daily vocations, physical traits of face and form, distinctive personal habits and audible speech. As to all these what the ancient Greek was, the modern Greek is. Resurrect the contemporary of Cleon or Alcibiades, put on him the European costume of the Nineteenth century and let him stroll in front of King George's palace with the clamorous crowd. There will be nothing in bearing or appearance to distinguish him from these later people born twenty centuries after he was dust. Or thrust the vociferous modern Greek far back on the highway of time, and clothe him in chlamys and buskin. Aristophanes will find in him no new point for satire, and he will be at ease with the frequenters of the market or of the academy; and they will be at ease with him.

There still remains a far more important test of family affinity. Character, rather than externals or customs, indicates the man. No less does it stamp the individuality of a race. Hereby is revealed the truest kinship. No person concentrates in himself every virtue or every vice. Neither does the Greek, but his typical virtues and vices seem less a creation of his own than his natural inheritance. Not an excellence or defect glorified or disfigured the old Greek that does not exist in the new. Not more akin are they in tint of face and hair and in the supple build of their slender figure than in their qualities of heart and soul.

Among commercial peoples, the first criterion to be applied is that of honesty. The average Greek of any social class bears this test as well as the average member of that same class in any other land. The leading Greek

firms of Manchester, London, Marseilles, Trieste, Constantinople, Smyrna, are deservedly esteemed for integrity and business honor. Their probity is a chief element in their distinguished financial success. Not always loved or popular, they are almost invariably respected and trusted. Their reputation is as high as that of French or English or American houses. As far as comparison is possible the modern Greek merchant or banker does not suffer when placed beside his prototype of ancient times.

The seaport towns of Europe, especially along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, nourish a peculiar brood of men, a sort of human scum, that drifts along the coast. Here the dishonest Greek is only the most dexterous among many rival thieves. Once when I was on board an English steamer in the harbor of Syra, a Greek boatman was caught in the act of stealing something from the cabin. Surprised at his detection, the captain swore he was a Maltese or an Italian, adding, that such a clumsy rascal could not be a Greek. The culprit was forthwith chained to the mast. On weighing anchor that evening, the captain remembering his prisoner ordered that he should be released and sent on shore. It was found the man had escaped with all his original plunder, and had also carried off the chain!

Two special characteristics are possessed by the Greeks of every class almost without exception.

The first is a hatred of restraint, a sense of personal independence, an unwillingness to submit to usurped and sometimes to legitimate authority. In its noblest manifestation this is the love of freedom, the passion after liberty, the burning sense of right and justice, to which subjection and slavery are more intolerable than death. This sentiment nerved Sparta and Athens against the Persians, brought on the desperate seven years' struggle of the Greek revolution at the dawn of the nineteenth century, and upheld the Cretans through generations in their resistance to Ottoman oppression.

To this sentiment are due the most thrilling exploits in Grecian history. Yet, seen on its lower, more brutal side, this same spirit has been the unvarying and most persistent curse of Greece. During the Greek revolution, the intestine rivalries and civil wars of Odysseus, and Ghouras, and Mavrokordatos, and Koundouriotis, and Koletis, and many more wrought greater havoc to their native land than did the Moslem hosts of Chourshid Pasha, and Omer Brione and Ibrahim. During that agonizing struggle, no small proportion of the Greeks fell at the hands of their fellow-countrymen, ostensibly battling all the time in the same cause, as well as under the dripping yataghan of the Turk. In 1824, after Ottoman authority had been expelled from the Peloponnesus, and the Ottoman survivors crouched under the walls of their few remaining fortresses, the tribal and partisan feuds of the triumphant chieftains kept the emancipated province in as wretched a condition as it had ever known. Insubordination and insolence in the council chamber, disobedience in the field, intolerance of discipline, jealousies that patriotism was not strong enough to quell, personal pretensions that bordered on treason, have over and over again paralyzed the noblest efforts of Greece, and caused heartache and disappointment to her sincerest and most devoted friends. Yet wherein, through all this painful record, does not the present and the recent reduplicate the past? One historian, indeed, was born two thousand and three hundred and fifty-one years ago to describe that twenty-six years' anguish which we call the Peloponnesian War. That fratricidal contest rises prominent in the current of continuous, similar history, not because of any sudden or unusual feature of its own, but through the personality of Thucydides, its unequalled narrator. The years before and since down to today are an unbroken, monotonous repetition in major or minor key, on larger or smaller scale, of like civil brawls and internecine strife.

We are comparing the Greeks with each other and not

with the peoples of other lands. Still it is only fair to say that they have by no means the monopoly of domestic bloodshed. In this respect the civil wars, insurrections and riots in France, not only during and since, but through centuries before the Revolution give to France a mournful and undisputed preëminence. Nor can we forget that one civil war, among the most destructive to property and life in which men ever engaged, was waged by Americans in America.

The second characteristic, common to the dweller on the mainland and the island, distinguishing all regardless of wealth and standing, is a strong, almost superstitious reverence for education. I have seen Greeks with blue eyes and red hair, with a Roman nose, or a nose unquestionably pug, and some who were neither vivacious nor energetic, but I never saw one yet who did not cherish a profound veneration for what he considered learning. Even their piety in its peculiar attachment to ceremonial and ritual is not so prominent as their reverence for education. To secure it for themselves and for their children they will endure any hardship and welcome any privation. Whomever they judge possesses it, whether foreigner or fellow-countryman, they look upon with profound respect mingled with envy. There is no other so sure passport to their confidence and regard. In Adrianople, I once made the acquaintance of a Greek master mason. He was utterly illiterate, unable to read, but his interest was aroused by researches I was making in the city. My friend, unlike most of his compatriots, was slightly bibulous. In the evening, whenever we met in the café, he would give vent to his emotions of sorrow at his own ignorance and admiration at my supposed learning in maudlin laments and ejaculations. Always he concluded with these words, "Though I am ignorant, my four children shall be learned."

What has modern Greece to place beside the literary masterpieces of her ante-Christian days? If the divine

afflatus still glows in her breast, sluggishness of brain and poverty of production require some other explanation than the penury and prostration in which sixty-seven years ago she crept out, exhausted but victorious, from her revolutionary war. It is true that neither England, France, Italy, Germany, America has at any single period equalled that most brilliant epoch. It is true that the philosophers, orators, poets, sculptors, architects of the whole Christian world still sit in reverent pupilage at the feet of her early sages. Then was the mysterious stupendous culmination of the human mind, unequalled and almost unrivalled since. Nor can it be demanded that in this prolific century Greece with her scanty, impoverished population should equal the literary productiveness of contemporaneous states which boast fifteen-fold, twenty-fold, thirty-five-fold as many sons.

All we ask is this, are there recent Greek writers who reveal their ancestry and show themselves emulous of their sires? It would be tedious to recount the names of all the historians, orators, philosophers, poets and dramatists in which modern Greece is rich. Mr. Rangabé in his "*Histoire Littéraire de la Grèce Moderne*," enumerates eight hundred and seventy-one modern Greek authors whose works have been published, and discusses their merits. The principal and more numerous compositions have been in the fields of history, philology, theology, philosophy, poetry and law. Few have been devoted to mathematics, or the physical sciences; more than fourscore writers have attempted dramas, and some have produced fine romances. Nowhere else is the poetry of the Greeks so opulent as in their popular songs. Many of these songs have never been written down, and live only on the people's lips. Orators like the two Trikoupes and Bishop Latas, historians like Paparrigopoulos and Philemon, poets like Orphanides, Bernardakis, Alexandros Byzantios and Paraschos, do not maintain a humble rank relative to their compeers of the

West. On their pages burns something of that literary fire which—

“Greece nurtured in her glories’ prime.”

In great emergencies or solemn crises the soul of a nation is fullest shown. Modern Greece, hurling herself upon the Ottoman hosts, unanswerably demonstrates whether the new Greeks are the old Greeks, and whether the Grecian spirit survives. Olympus never looked down on a spectacle more momentous than the war which has been raging around its base. Dissuaded, opposed, menaced by banded Europe, seeing Christian cannon plough the ranks of her Cretan brethren, and the standards of the six Christian powers float in alliance beside the Mussulman flag, Greece, single-handed and without a friend, did not shrink from the encounter.

Even the apparent sympathy of the American government, on which she had a right to count, was wanting. The American people, as far as official influence was concerned, was ranged against the cause of liberty and on the side of outrage and oppression. There is no call for America to interfere in the affairs of foreign nations. From the entangling alliances or complications of the Old World we are mercifully free. But the single words, “We protest” against the so-called pacific blockade, would have echoed from Crete to Athens and from Athens to Crete. It ill became us at the behest of one or of all the foreign powers to be practically silent when the doctrine of neutral rights was invaded, a doctrine for which we have spoken not only with the lips of diplomacy but from the cannon’s mouth! The words, “We protest,” would have tended to disintegrate the monstrous concert of Christian Europe and the Ottoman, and have nerved men fighting only for liberty. The golden opportunity was before us, such as is seldom vouchsafed a nation, to make our voice heard and our influence for humanity felt around the world. The golden opportunity was thrown away; and

instead a precedent was allowed which may some day be used against our very selves with terrible effect.

Asking no intervention, praying only that no European nation on any specious pretext might interfere, putting their trust alone in the God of armies and themselves, the Cretan Greeks girded themselves to fight the battle to its bitter end.

The story of these last months around that rocky island is not only too familiar but too harrowing to repeat. The two hundred and seventy thousand Christian Cretans could conquer, did conquer, the Turks as they had conquered them more than once before, but they stood aghast, confronted by the allied ironclads of a continent. It required profounder brains than theirs to tell why Christian England trained her cannon upon them, whose only crime was, longing to be free !

When Greece at last, wrought to sympathetic frenzy, drew her sword in a cause that to her was holy, she did not find for her warfare that most sacred right of all contestants, fair play and an open field. Through seventy years she has been the football of European diplomacy and is so still. Yet history presents no sublimer spectacle than Greece, heedless of cost, reckless of consequences, in delirious yet almost hopeless battle, throwing herself, with feet and hands half tied, upon the mighty Mussulman oppressor of her kin. It was not prudent, it was not sagacious or discreet ; yet such grandeur of rashness and folly ennoble the race, and streams a little light upon a sordid world. During the last few years, the press, the pulpit, the human conscience, have denounced the barbarism and the inhumanity of the Turk. Greece alone has dared to beard him !

In the vastitude of Europe, in the dreary expanse of races beyond the ocean, only two national figures stand out, worthy exponents of the principles they profess. The one, the Turk, challenges a measure of our respect.

He is no other than he claims to be. He puts forth no professions that sicken us by their cant. Warlike, ferocious, sanguinary, fanatic, he is the child and not the bastard of the torpid, unprogressive, despotic, bloody East. He stands today a conqueror, triumphant and erect. Well may the astute Sultan smile, for he knows that to the followers of the Messiah he is in large degree indebted for his freshest victory over freedom and the cross.

The other figure is the Greek. Outgeneraled, defeated, fleeing, with no laurels of success but only the unfading laurels of a high endeavor, he is a kinsman of whom his buried Spartan and Athenian ancestors may well be proud. His was a more herculean task than theirs. They fought only against Asiatic hordes. He contended likewise against Asiatic hordes, but his antagonists were equipped with the arms, were disciplined and commanded by the officers and supported by the statecraft of the Christian West.

With hearts that ache, we turn from the contemplation of today. This latest, saddest episode seems drawing to its melancholy end; but the unknown future is before us. If the modern Greek were not the child of the ancient we might well deem him his twin. Brothers are they, though thousands of years apart!

“ Thus fought the Greek of old !
Thus shall he fight again !
Shall not the selfsame mould
Bring forth the selfsame men ! ”

THE GENERAL COURT AND QUARRELS BETWEEN
INDIVIDUALS ARISING FROM THE LAND BANK.BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

DURING the period when the affairs of the Land Bank were under consideration by the General Court, the time of the Court was taken up not only by the perplexing nature of the legislation required from the peculiar circumstances under which the scheme was closed, but also by the urgency with which those interested, from time to time, demanded reports from the Commissioners and investigations of their doings. As time went on new difficulties arose, and fresh legislation was necessary, if it was really desired that the affairs of the Bank should be wound up. The conflict between the Directors and the general partners caused by the losses incurred in trade became more and more acute, and in one shape or another was constantly cropping out, to the annoyance and embarrassment of the Commissioners and of the General Court. In addition to the intrusion of the affairs of the Land Bank upon the time and patience of the Court, came the private petitions for the relief of individual sufferers.

The story of the legislation was told last year, and the narrative necessarily included some details concerning these matters, but in the treatment of that subject and of the litigation in the Courts, the affairs of individuals were not dealt with. For the purpose of illustrating the complications which were created by the methods adopted to close the Land Bank, I have selected from among the petitions brought before the General Court, those presented by

Nathaniel Martyn, who figures as a possessor of bills, and by Samuel Stevens, one of the partners whom he had sued. In what follows, a brief statement will be found of the several papers presented by these two men. The various phases of the difficulties encountered by Stevens through his unfortunate connection with this enterprise are brought out with considerable force, if one has patience to trace the story to its end. The picture of the son, in the last petition of all, himself by that time an old man, taking the father's place as petitioner and urging upon the General Court the consideration of his father's losses, is pathetic in the extreme. We have here in real life, the shipwreck of the career of two men vividly brought out in the documents presented by the father and son. The sufferings caused by the protracted suits in the Chancery Courts of Scotland and England, furnished Scott and Dickens with themes of which they availed themselves to arouse the sympathy of their readers. At their hands, the story of the Stevens family would have been of equal avail. It is not to be inferred that there were other petitioners who occupied the time of the Court to an equal extent. Martyn and Stevens engrossed the attention of the public and of the Courts far more than any others of the sufferers and litigants, but they were by no means alone. Others from time to time, with less pertinacity, urged their claims upon the attention of the Court. The close connection of Martyn with the case of Stevens, would have compelled consideration of his petitions, if we would have the whole story of the Stevens matter, but apart from that, the fact that the General Court remanded him to the custody of the sheriff of Suffolk County, to be confined in the common gaol until he should apologize for his insolent language, naturally gives special interest to his own affairs.

While it can scarcely be expected that the dry details connected with these papers can prove of general interest,

it must be evident that the story of the Land Bank would be incomplete, if the manner in which the time of the General Court was taken up with these details were not in some way brought out.

On the 20th of March, 1741-42, a petition headed by Nathaniel Martyn was presented to the General Court, in which the subscribers set forth that they had been for a long time possessors of large quantities of negotiable notes called Manufactory notes or bills; that since the suppression of the Land Bank by Act of Parliament these notes were made redeemable, and subscribers to the Bank became thereby subject to prosecutions in their personal and political capacities if they neglected to redeem them. For these reasons the petitioners had given the bills credit, but payment of the notes had been refused by many of the partners. Unless assisted by the General Court it would become necessary for the petitioners to prosecute a great number of the partners without regard to the question whether they had paid the assessments laid by the Directors. For the prevention of a multiplicity of law-suits and for the protection of those partners who had complied with their duty, the petitioners prayed that some effectual method might be devised by the Court for compelling those concerned to make the redemption called for by the Act of Parliament. It is not to be supposed that Martyn and the other possessors of notes who thus petitioned the General Court for relief could have anticipated any direct action in their behalf. They had evidently waited, restrained perhaps by the strong feeling of public sympathy which the misfortunes of the unfortunate partners had aroused, and they now realized that the attempt was to be made to wind up the affairs of the Bank without legislation if possible. Their rights to sue partners in the Land Bank in order to secure the redemption of bills of the Bank were at that time based exclusively upon the Act of Parliament, for

no provincial legislation had then been enacted to facilitate the execution of that Act. The threat of prosecuting the partners contained in the petition was soon put in practice, and the name of Martyn figured conspicuously among the plaintiffs.

On the 23d of November, 1742, Samuel Stevens of Roxbury, petitioned the General Court. He had been sued as a partner by one Richard Jennys, who, he asserted, although he might be the *possessor* of the notes on which the action was based, could not reasonably be thought to be *proprietor* of them. Stevens was of opinion that these notes had been furnished Jennys by the Directors of the Land Bank, who had received great numbers of them, but who, he alleged, had not destroyed them. He charged neglect on the part of those engaged in winding up the Bank, and he prayed that his distressed and pitiable circumstances might be taken into consideration, and his ruin prevented, otherwise not only his family but a thousand others must be sacrificed. Not, he went on to say, to the possessors—but to the exorbitant demand of the Directors.

The petition of Stevens was duly referred to a committee, and on the 2d of December the Directors filed their answer. They denied that there had been any neglect in winding up the affairs of the Bank. They had spent both time and money in their endeavors to prevent possessors of bills from suing individual partners who had paid in their proportionate shares, and where there was difficulty on the part of such partners in procuring bills with which to adjust their accounts, they had effected exchanges with them and done what they could to protect them. They denied having furnished Jennys with bills on which to sue Stevens, although they claimed that it was not unreasonable that those partners should be sued who had not paid their proportionate shares, and of these Stevens was one.

They charged Stevens with having himself employed certain persons to sue sundry of the Directors. They alleged that the redeemed bills had been destroyed as fast as they conveniently could be, 28,000 pounds having at that time been burned. They claimed that the petitioner had no design to submit to the Act of Parliament, nor to pay possessors of bills their dues, but merely desired on the contrary to bring the respondents under the odium of the government as the causes of his obstinacy, wherefore they prayed that the petition be dismissed. On the 7th of December, the Council unanimously dismissed the petition of Stevens, and in this action the House concurred. Either the date of this dismissal is incorrectly given in the records, or Stevens had a prophetic instinct of what was about to happen, for on the 6th of December, he filed a new petition stating that he understood that his former petition had been dismissed, and that this left him, as also other late partners, an unguarded prey to the Directors unless the King should interfere for his relief. He claimed that he had complied with the Act of Parliament by redeeming more than his share of the bills. True, he had not paid them in to the Directors, but that was on account of their exorbitant demands. The petitioner stood ready to prove that he had been persecuted with many demands and suits at the hands of the late Directors, and prayed for a public hearing. On the 15th of December this petition was dismissed.

On the day that Stevens's first petition was dismissed, John Overing, Attorney-General for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, filed an information in the Superior Court of Judicature against Samuel Stevens, as a delinquent partner, on which a summons was issued by the Court. On the 29th of January, 1742-43, the sheriff made returns that he had been at the house of Stevens, and at other places to forewarn him, but he could not find him.

June 6, 1743, Samuel Stevens petitioned the General Court for relief. The occasion of this petition was a judgment obtained against him as a partner in the Land Bank by Nathaniel Martyn, as possessor of sundry Manufactory notes. The petitioner claimed that he had already paid in his full quota of said notes, and thereby had complied with the true intent of the Act of Parliament. A hearing was appointed.

To this petition Martyn answered that it contained sundry assertions which were false, unjust, ungrateful and malicious, and with considerable asperity, he proceeded to deny in detail such of these statements as seemed to him calculated to injure his standing with the General Court. He claimed, however, that he had a right to sue partners whether delinquent or not. It was unreasonable, he said, to expect that possessors should confine themselves to delinquents in their attempts to collect the notes. The present delinquents were generally impoverished, they were vastly distant, out of the Province, absconded or deceased, and so far as Stevens himself was concerned, he was, when this respondent began his action against him, a delinquent, and had only lately paid in his proportion of the bills to the Directors. The reasons given by the petitioner for staying execution would be equally good on any judgment, would interrupt the course of justice, and would defeat the Act of Parliament. Therefore he prayed that the petition be dismissed.

On the 22d of June, the petition of Stevens and the answer of Martyn were considered in the House of Representatives, and it was ordered that the Superior Court of Judicature next to be holden at Boston in and for the County of Suffolk, be and they thereby were empowered and directed to hear and try the merits of the cause mentioned in the petition, to make up judgment and award execution thereon, the judgment therein mentioned not-

withstanding; and the execution therein mentioned was set aside, provided that the adverse party, Nathaniel Martyn, should be notified and served with a copy of this petition and the order thereon, fourteen days at least before the sitting of said Court. The Council concurred in this order; and the same was consented to by the Governor.

In August, 1743, the re-hearing came up, and Stevens was defaulted. At the September session of the General Court, Stevens petitioned to have his default set aside and the case re-opened. Execution was thereupon stayed, and Martyn made answer praying that the petition be dismissed and that he be awarded reasonable costs. The Council voted to refer the whole matter to the next session, and in this vote the House concurred, but the Governor refused his assent to this continuance. Thereupon the execution was revived. This revival did not carry with it the reasonable costs which Martyn had claimed, and he presented a petition to the General Court, at the next session, in his own behalf, that such costs should be allowed him. This petition was dismissed.

On the 3d of November, Martyn filed another petition. He recited the various steps which he had taken in petitioning the General Court, and in the suit of Martyn *vs.* Stevens. He renewed his statement that Stevens's petition contained many falsehoods, and alleged that in one instance at least, Stevens, through his attorney, was permitted to file an affidavit retracting and correcting his former representations. He said that this attorney was the son of Stevens, and was also nominally the sole proprietor of his father's estate. He showed the transfers of Stevens's estate and claimed fraud. He recited demands that he had made upon Robert Hale and John Choate for payment of Manufactory notes, which payment had been neglected. He alleged that the privilege of being members of the General Court had been sundry times pleaded in Courts of

Justice in bar of civil processes, the Act of Parliament notwithstanding. The sheriff, he said, refused to serve writs upon members during the session of the Great and General Court, and this conduct had been approved by the dismissal of his complaint. Thus the possessor had but a bad chance to get his money in a long while. He prayed for relief, for the reimbursement of his expenses, and claimed as good a right of protection as the Directors. He wound up as follows: "And as your Excellency and your Honours were pleased to interfere in favour of the Directors in ordering his Majesty's Attorney General to put in force the Statute of Premunire against delinquent partners, he humbly presumes the honest and suffering possessor has a much better claim to your countenance and protection."

On the 8th of November, 1743, the Council took this Memorial into consideration and voted as follows: "Whereas Nathaniel Martyn of Boston, on Thursday last, delivered to the Secretary's Clerk a libellous paper directed to this Board called a Memorial of the said Nathaniel Martyn, and by him signed; which contains many gross and scandalous reflections upon the public proceedings of this Board as well as of the House of Representatives, tending to traduce the Acts of this government, and to excite a seditious spirit among his Majesty's good subjects of this Province, without colour of seeking any proper relief from this Board for his pretended grievances, or with any other intent but to affront and insult this government, therefore, voted unanimously and ordered that the sheriff of the County of Suffolk forthwith take the said Nathaniel into his custody and keep him in safe custody till further order; and further voted that the said Memorial be sent down to the House of Representatives, with a copy of this Order."

On the 9th, the House proceeded to the consideration of the Memorial and Order, and passed the following Resolve:

“That said report contains many indecent and scandalous expressions and insinuations relating to the proceedings of the Honourable Board, together with scandalous, insolent and seditious reflections upon this House, and has a tendency to render his Majesty’s government of this Province contemptible and the said Martyn being by order of his Excellency the Governor and Council committed to the custody of the sheriff of the County of Suffolk,” therefore a joint Committee should be appointed to consider what is proper further to be done in this affair. In this action the Board concurred and such a Committee was appointed.

On the 9th of November, Martyn, being then in the custody of the sheriff of Suffolk County, presented a Memorial to the General Court. In this he recited the language of the order of commitment issued by the Council, and asserted that he never had any design, direct or sinister, open or concealed, to affront or insult the government or any member of the same. That he had carefully perused his Memorial and could not possibly find out what words or expressions in it had reflected on his Excellency, or their Honours, or the Honourable the House of Representatives, and he humbly prayed them to point out the particular matters or things wherein he had offended. He was desirous, he said, of rendering all due obedience and subjection to the authority of the government, and was endeavoring to preserve his character and his property. If this view of his Memorial should prevail and if the grievances of which he complained should be recognized he hoped that he would not be considered undutiful and disobedient, and he asked to be discharged from confinement.

On the 10th of November, the Committee to whom was referred the papers in this affair, reported that they had doubts whether they were sufficiently impowered to hear and examine Martyn in the premises. The Committee

were thereupon impowered and directed to inquire whether Martyn had any encouragers and abettors in his conduct. The sheriff was directed to bring Martyn before them and they were ordered to proceed with the examination and make report of the result.

This Committee reported on the 11th, that they had heard Martyn and that his justification of the exceptional expressions in his Memorial was not satisfactory. They recommended that he be committed to the common gaol of Suffolk County, there to remain during the session and until he should give bonds for good behavior. The report was accepted and the recommendations adopted.

On the same day, Martyn presented a new petition to the General Court, from which it appears that he had finally concluded to lay aside his defiant attitude and accept the situation. The petitioner was exceedingly sorry and afflicted that any such unguarded and undutiful expressions as those which had been adjudged insulting in his first petition, and also those of a similar character in his late petition, should have been used by him, and far from justifying them or his conduct, he humbly begged pardon of his Excellency and their Honours and promised to behave as a dutiful and loyal subject with due submission to the authority of the government for the future, whereupon he humbly entreated the General Court to discharge him from confinement.

Martyn having thus submitted to the authority of the Court, it was proposed in the Council and agreed to by the House that he should be summoned before the whole Court and admonished for his fault, and this was accordingly done, on the same day that the foregoing proceedings took place. It was then ordered that the sentence of the Court be remitted and Martyn discharged.

This case having been disposed of, and the Commission-

ers for finishing the Land Bank having entered upon the performance of their duties, there was a lull in the pressure upon the attention of the General Court, of private grievances connected with the Land Bank. This lasted for nearly seven years, but in April, 1750, Samuel Stevens appeared once more upon the scene. On the 11th of that month, he complained to the General Court of the cruel exactions made upon him for the payment of the Land-Bank notes, by which he was in danger of being utterly ruined in his estate, and he prayed for relief. The General Court ordered him to serve copies of his petition on the Commissioners and on the Directors of the Land Bank, and required them to show cause why the prayer of the petition should not be granted.

On the 2d of July, Stevens filed a petition for relief, in which he complained of the conduct of the Commissioners. This petition was referred to a Committee.

On the 11th of October, the General Court ordered the Commissioners forthwith to apply the effects of such judgments as they had recovered against any of the delinquent partners which then remained not satisfied, for the reimbursing Stevens the value of three hundred pounds, Manufactory bills, which had been lodged by Mr. Nathaniel Martyn in the clerk's office of the County of Suffolk and by the said Commissioners received and burned and which Stevens had been obliged to redeem, after he had paid sixty-three pounds two shillings and six pence Manufactory bills and one hundred and fifty pounds common currency over and above the proportion of the Company's bills that he took out.

On the 17th of January, 1751, Stevens again complained of the Commissioners, and prayed either for relief, or that other Commissioners be appointed. The petition was referred to a Committee, and this Committee was, on the 27th of January, ordered to sit during recess.

It is evident that the pertinacity with which Stevens pursued the Commissioners reaped some reward, or at least that action was taken which was intended to produce that result. An order of the Commissioners, April 1, 1752, on sheriff Pollard for fifty-five pounds fifteen shillings sixpence is among the papers in the Archives. There is no evidence that Stevens received anything on this order. If he did the amount thus received did not suffice to recompense him for the disproportionate redemptions which he had been forced to make, and on the 6th of July, 1756, he again petitioned the General Court for relief. He complained of the dilatory proceedings of the Commissioners, which had deprived him of the benefit of the order of the General Court passed nearly six years before, and claimed that unless speedy relief should be afforded him that he was likely to be ruined in his estate. Stevens was directed to serve a copy of his Complaint on the Commissioners, and they were ordered to make answer to the same.

The Commissioners duly filed their Answer to Stevens's Complaint, and the petition and answer were, on the 20th of August, 1756, referred to a Committee, to hear the parties and make report.

A petition by Timothy Stevens, bearing no date, six pages in length, addressed to the Committee appointed to consider the Petition of Timothy Stevens, and to settle the Land Bank affairs, probably belongs to this stage of the proceedings. Timothy Stevens was the son of Samuel Stevens. One of the grievances of Nathaniel Martyn was that the title to all of Samuel Stevens's real estate had been placed in the name of Timothy, and Martyn believed that this proceeding was fraudulent. Timothy had acted as attorney for his father, and it is quite likely that this petition, although signed by him, is but a part of the proceedings under the Samuel Stevens petition. The language of this document is violent throughout. It concludes as

follows: "Gentlemen how hath the Act of Parliament been perverted to distress us, at the same time the Directors screened, especially in Governor Shirley's days. I humbly hope that you will particularly enquire what his premium was in Manufactory bills. Gentlemen, my father and I have suffered as to our estates, as much as if we had been under an outlawry and now gentlemen, as you are the dernier resort for our relief, I trust you will give these facts their just weight and make such a report as will tend fully and effectually to give us relief in the premises according to the laws of this Province that every individual sufferer shall be relieved according to equity."

On the 17th of April, 1761, Samuel Stevens again petitioned the General Court for relief. He referred to the order passed by the General Court in 1750 directing the Commissioners to reimburse him three hundred pounds Manufactory Bills which he was obliged to redeem over and above his proportion, and then went on to say: "After attending upon the Commissioners for several years for relief without effect, your petitioner accepted a warranty deed from the sheriff of said (Suffolk) County of one of the delinquent farms and had possession thereof given him by said sheriff.

"Soon after, the former claimers entered on said farm with force, whereupon your petitioner brought his action for damages, upon which action it was mutually agreed to try title, and your petitioner failed in said action and so lost his farm, and said sheriff was pursued by said claimers for disturbing them and they recovered damages on said action against said sheriff.

"That your petitioner hath brought his action against the said sheriff's estate, upon the said warranty deed, and the said action has been several years pending in the Court and now stands continued.

"That the Great and General Court in 1756, voted that

your petitioner should stand charged with said farm as no action of ejectment had been brought for the recovery of it, and that interest should be paid the petitioner for said sum.

“That your petitioner hath already spent large sums of money and been at great pains and trouble in endeavoring to obtain relief in this matter, and if he should bring his action of ejectment for said farm, the title whereof has already been tried on the action of trespass he must do it at his own cost.”

He then called attention to the fact that the Lottery Act had cut off a part of his possible remedies by suspending the power of the Commissioners to make assessments, and then went on to say, that to meet these redemptions, he had been obliged to mortgage his real estate; that all his personal estate had been absorbed in meeting the interest on this loan and that the mortgagee was about to foreclose. He therefore prayed that the first money which the Commissioners should receive under the Lottery should be applied for his relief. The petition was referred to a Committee to consider and report. This Committee reported April 21, 1761, recommending that the matter be postponed to the May session, which recommendation was adopted.

July 7th, Stevens's petition was again read and referred to a Committee, and on the 11th, this Committee reported that the consideration of the matter required more time than they could probably give that session; they therefore recommended that further consideration be postponed to the next session, and this recommendation was adopted.

On the 12th of February, 1762, Stevens presented another petition, in which he gave a detailed statement of his private affairs. He furnished all the particulars connected with the settlement of his property on his son Timothy, saying that he realized that this transaction had

been misunderstood, and that the belief that it was fraudulent had probably worked to his disadvantage. He referred to Martyn's suit against him, and stated that the fear of the Statute of Premunire occasioned his confinement to his house for a year. He then said that Martyn's suit had been directed against Timothy as well as against himself, and as the property was in Timothy's name he, Timothy, had been compelled to mortgage his estate for £4,000. O. T., the amount of the judgment. That this mortgage had been foreclosed and that the creditor, who would not aid him or Timothy in any manner, had assisted his two daughters in raising money so that they could have the title in their name. That they had brought an action of ejectment against Timothy. That nothing had been done by the Commissioners to relieve him. That his suit against sheriff Pollard's estate was continued from term to term, and that he had no hopes of relief from any action of ejectment.

He wanted the General Court to quash or delay the action of ejectment brought by his daughters against his son, until some redress could be furnished the petitioner, and he prayed for relief in the premises.

The House ordered the petitioner to serve his two daughters with a copy of the petition and appointed February 18th as the date for a hearing when they should show cause why the petition should not be granted. In this order the Council, on the 16th, non-concurred and ordered the petition to be dismissed.

At the session of the General Court which assembled February 23, 1762, Samuel Stevens presented another petition. He referred to the former order of the General Court that he should be reimbursed for the three hundred pounds in Manufactory notes lodged by Martyn in the Clerk's office of the Superior Court, and which had been

redeemed by him. He referred to the long time that he waited for the Commissioners to obey this order. He then said that his son Timothy finally purchased from the sheriff of Suffolk County, a farm which was conveyed to him by deed of warranty as the estate of a delinquent. That he took possession of the same, but the former owner invaded the premises, destroyed the barn and one end of the dwelling-house and carried off the choicest timber on the farm. Whereupon, Timothy brought an action of trespass, and on the question of title was defeated in the suit. He then proceeded to state that the said Timothy would have been glad to testify in the case but was debarred, being a party, and he asserted that Judge Samuel Danforth, one of the Commissioners, who labored under some mistake as to the actions of the memorialists, had always opposed him, wherefore he prayed that he be allowed to answer Mr. Danforth, and if it should appear that the memorialist was innocent that a reconsideration might be had of the action on his former petition.

There is no record of the action taken on this petition.

On the 19th of June, 1765, Timothy Stevens filed a petition with the General Court. Although by the terms of this petition, the grievances complained of relate only to the petitioner, yet the subject matter is easily identified with that which had for so many years been brought before the Court by Samuel Stevens. In this Petition, the order of the Court that £300 Manufactory bills should be reimbursed the memorialist is again alluded to, and the statement is made that notwithstanding the fact that the Commissioners were ordered in 1756 to pay the petitioner interest until they should pay the principal, he had not been able to collect either principal or interest. In order to redeem these bills he was forced to mortgage an estate worth more than double the sum which was borrowed. This estate he had lost. His losses exceeded the money both

principal and interest which was then due him from the Commissioners. He said that he was laboring under bodily infirmity and was almost worn out by more than twenty years' fatigue in seeking for relief in this affair. Inasmuch as the Commissioners had hitherto failed to comply with the orders of the General Court he prayed that the affairs of the Land Bank be taken out of their hands, and also that speedy relief might be afforded to him.

This memorial was, by concurrent vote, referred to a Committee, and later this Committee was authorized to sit during recess and report at the next session of the Court.

Whether Stevens ever recovered the three hundred pounds with interest, the Archives do not disclose. The bills of the Land Bank having been withdrawn from circulation and destroyed, the main purpose of the General Court had been accomplished. The efforts to effect an equitable distribution of the losses doubtless failed, and it is to be feared that such cases as that of Stevens were never satisfactorily adjusted. A committee of the General Court, in 1767, reported that any attempt to relieve certain partners who believed that one of the assessments was unjust would be impracticable. The affairs of the Bank had been from time time before the Court for nearly thirty years. Seven years before this the Court had said that the public affairs of the Province had been greatly interrupted by the frequent applications to the Court in connection therewith. The announcement of the Committee that they believed that it was impracticable to relieve the partners who thought that they had been unjustly assessed was perhaps the reason why the records contain no evidence that the time of the Court thereafter was taken up with the affairs of aggrieved partners. The Court was worn out with the affair, and while many of the members doubtless still sympathized with the sufferings which had been inflicted upon the unfort-

unate partners, they recognized the fact that it was a waste of time to give their petitions consideration.

In the various petitions which had been presented, the motives of the litigants themselves; of the Commissioners appointed to close the Land Bank; of one of the judges of the Provincial Courts; of a Royal Governor of the Province; and of the General Court itself had been aspersed. The original defendant in the suit of Martyn against Stevens had been laid in his grave. The son, who had become a decrepit, poverty-stricken old man, still clung to his claim as his only resource. That he had suffered hardship was evident. That legislation parliamentary and provincial was the cause of it was equally obvious. That the General Court saw no way to remedy the evil is clear. That justice was never accomplished in this case is probable.

DR. SAUGRAIN'S RELATION OF HIS VOYAGE DOWN
THE OHIO RIVER FROM PITTSBURGH TO
THE FALLS IN 1788.

BY EUGENE F. BLISS.

BEFORE giving the translation from the French of Dr. Saugrain's Relation it may be well to give a sketch of his life.

Antoine François Saugrain de Vigni was born in Paris, February 17, 1763. His family had for generations been publishers and booksellers. As early as the sixteenth century his ancestor, John Saugrain, born in 1518, had been printer to Charles IX. in Lyons, and afterward to Henry IV. of Navarre. His son served in the same capacity Catherine, queen of Navarre, and thus to his own time, almost without exception, there was in each generation some Saugrain bookseller, publisher or both. His family was related also to the well-known publisher, Didot, Dr. Saugrain's sister, probably, having married into that family. Another famous name may be mentioned here, for another sister, Marie Thérèse, married Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin of unhappy memory. To Dr. Saugrain's name is often appended "de Vigni." His grandson, A. P. Saugrain, Esq., of St. Louis, says of this name: "It may not be uninteresting to state the reason for this. In those days, and it may be the custom still, children almost immediately after they were born were given out to nurse, and the mother rarely saw her child until it had attained the age of probably four or five years. The child took the name of the hamlet, town or village near which it was reared. Hence the name, Vigni, for my grandfather, which, I find,

he retained in his family for many years after reaching the age of manhood and probably kept it through life. So cherished was the custom that a grandaunt of mine (Dr. Saugrain's sister) on the birth of a child shortly after arriving in this country, determined from the stress of circumstances to nurse it herself. This was thought at the time so strange that one of the family painted a portrait of the mother in the act of nursing the child; we have the portrait in the family to this day."

Little or nothing is known of Dr. Saugrain's early education, but there can be no doubt that his parents gave heed to the bent of his mind, and his studies, beyond the obligatory Latin, must have been of a scientific and practical character. As a young man he studied physie, surgery and mineralogy. To judge from dates and his age, it is not probable that he ever practised medicine in Paris.

The first of his three visits to America was made upon the invitation of Don Galvez, Spanish Viceroy of Mexico. What parts of the country he examined is not known, but he was employed as mineralogist and as a student of the natural history of Mexico. His patron, whom Humboldt calls "the enlightened Galvez," writes in a letter still extant, of Saugrain's scholarly attainments and expresses regret for his absence. The death of the Viceroy forced Dr. Saugrain to return to France. In 1787, in company with M. Piqué, a botanist, he made his second visit to America for travel in Kentucky and along the course of the Ohio. Brissot de Warville dined with the two naturalists at Dr. Guillotin's the day of their departure from Paris. Upon arrival in America they hastened to Pittsburgh, but were there detained by the early setting in of winter. The enthusiastic young men, however, were not discouraged nor made idle by their detention and the partial failure of their plans. They established themselves in an abandoned cabin a few miles from town, were their own hewers of

wood and cooked their own food, for the greater part venison and potatoes, for bread was scarce and dear. They used their time in various scientific pursuits. Dr. Saugrain tried his hydrostatic scales in testing the capacity of different woods in the production of potash, finding corn-stalks the most fruitful. He examined many mines in the neighborhood and found iron, lead, copper and silver. The two naturalists set out from Pittsburgh March 19, 1788, with the adventures given in the letter translated. M. Piqué was killed by the Indians; Dr. Saugrain arrived in Louisville March 29th. There he remained till May 11th of the same year, when he went back to Philadelphia, overland as far as Limestone, then by boat to Pittsburgh, reaching his destination June 17th.

How long he remained in Philadelphia is a matter of conjecture, as is also his occupation in Paris up to the time of his third voyage to America with the Scioto emigration. Special consideration was shown him by the agents of the Scioto Company, both on account of his acquaintance with the Ohio country and his skill in medicine and mineralogy. William Playfair, as director of the Scioto Company, made a contract with him in Paris April 22, 1790, by the terms of which he was to receive two hundred acres of land, his passage to America as well as that of three servants, tools, seeds and beasts for the proper working of his land, provisions for a year and aid in building his cabin, all in consideration of Saugrain's knowledge and experience, who on his part agreed to give the Company his services, making himself useful in any way he could, for the year after his arrival in America.

Dr. Saugrain landed with other immigrants at Alexandria, in Virginia, in May, 1790. With them he shared the delays, disappointments and unavoidable hardships of the journey from the coast, over the mountains, to the Valley of the Ohio. He married in Gallipolis, but did not remain many years there with the so called Scioto Colony, for in

1797 we find him a resident of Lexington, Kentucky, where his first child was born.

Mrs. Mentelle, herself the daughter of one of the unfortunate immigrants, contributed to the *Saturday Evening Chronicle* of July 14, 1827, an article about Dr. Saugrain, in which she says: "Dr. Saugrain had acquired a great degree of reputation among the inhabitants of Kanawha by his success in inoculation for the smallpox. . . . He had besides many other resources; he had brought with him a quantity of phosphorus, glass tubes and quicksilver; besides other things he made aërometers and barometers. All these articles were disposed of at wholesale for Kentucky and elsewhere, or in retail to the traders and those who came from different parts to visit the colony." Mrs. Mentelle makes mention of a party of Indians who visited Gallipolis on their way to the seat of government. "As they went about the town, they were led to Dr. Saugrain's and there examined his different machines with great curiosity. The doctor had an electric apparatus and thought it would be highly amusing to give them a shock; he placed a coin on the electric plate and told the interpreter to desire some of the Indians to keep it if they could take it off. One of them after some hesitation ventured to lay hold of the silver and received such a shock that he rushed out of the house in the greatest and most hideous fright. Dr. Saugrain, picking up the coin himself without any effect from the exploded machine, left the interpreter and the other Indians impressed with the most profound awe for the magician who could work such wonders."

Henry W. Brackenridge, author of "Recollections of the West," gives an amusing account of his year's residence in Dr. Saugrain's family. Brackenridge's book was written forty years after the events recorded and, I fear, is more entertaining than accurate. He speaks of the doctor as "a cheerful, sprightly little Frenchman, four feet six, English measure (but the doctor's children add a foot to this scant

computation) and a chemist, natural philosopher and physician. . . . The doctor had a small apartment which contained his chemical apparatus and I used to sit by him as often as I could, watching the curious operations of his blowpipe and crucible. I loved the cheerful little man and he became very fond of me in turn. Many of my countrymen (the native Kentuckians) used to come and stare at his doings, which they were half-inclined to think had too near a resemblance to the black art."

In the year 1800, at the urgent request of his friend, Trudeau, Governor of St. Louis, then belonging to the French, Dr. Saugrain removed to that town, going down the Ohio to the Mississippi in a flatboat and then working up the latter stream. Many weeks were consumed in this tedious trip. Five years later he received from President Jefferson a commission as Assistant Surgeon in the army and was assigned to duty at Fort Bellefontaine, a post on the Missouri River a few miles from St. Louis. For several years he was the only physician at St. Louis, and he continued in practice to the time of his death. "He could have amassed a large fortune," says Mrs. Mentelle, "but with a heart and hand always open and a very large family, he never felt a desire of accumulation and died poor, regretted and beloved by all." His death occurred in 1821. He left six children, four of whom were daughters. His grandchildren were thirty-one in number.

The original of the following translation, with many other documents, was put into my hands several years ago. I am inclined to think it the draft of a letter sent by Dr. Saugrain to his friends in France.

My Friends:—The ice having caught us at Pittsburgh, you know that we were obliged to remain there the space of four months, and that in the end, the Ohio having opened, we saw with regret our first boat depart, carried away by the ice. We had another one made, in which we

embarked to the number of four, to wit: M. Piqué and Raguet, French, Pierce, American, and myself. We set out from Pittsburgh March 19th (1788). We stopped at Wheeling (Woulige), and at Muskingum, and at Limestone (now Maysville), a place where a fine town should be built: in short we continued our voyage without accident until the 24th, always admiring both banks of the Ohio, which in places are magnificent. But on the 24th at half past four in the afternoon nearly, being opposite the Big Miami, as the wind had thrown us a little upon the shore of the Ohio, on the Pennsylvania side, and while we were preparing to put ourselves rather more out in the current to go faster, M. Piqué called my attention to a flatboat which was upon the same bank. Alas! he was far from thinking this same boat would cause his death. As we were getting away from the shore mentioned to gain the stream, we heard ourselves called by the Indians, who at the same time fired upon us. At the first shot they killed my mare, and in struggling the poor creature pushed against M. Piqué's, which gave me a kick in the belly, throwing me flat, and with another she would certainly have killed me, had she struck me, but she only grazed the skin on my forehead. As the mare had thrown me flat the Indians thought surely they had killed me. I conjecture that from the shore they fired nearly twenty times, but none of their shots hit us, except that M. Piqué was just grazed in the head as I thought, but as he did not complain I believed it a matter of no consequence.

To get beyond the range of the balls we all four took to the oars, but we saw that the Indians all went aboard the flatboat we had seen near the shore and in front of which they had put some planking to prevent their being seen, and in this same planking they made holes to put their guns through so that they might fire upon us without danger of being killed themselves. I left my oar to see if our guns were in order. Of the three we had, I found two loaded; one of these was mine, the other, M. Raguet's carabine. I hastened to load the third as well as to prime two pistols belonging to the same M. Raguet. During this time the Indians advanced upon us and as they did not fire, one of us, I know not which one, proposed to raise a white handkerchief in sign of peace, judging it would be better to be

a prisoner among the Indians than to be killed. They got nearer and nearer to us, even with some sign of friendship, and as they were near us, one of them was on the point of entering our boat and as this unhappy man held a knife in his hand, I judged with some reason, I believe, that he had no praiseworthy intention. I seized a pistol and sent two balls into his stomach. The pistol was no sooner fired than all the Indians, who were then standing, threw themselves flat in the boat and in this position fired upon us. Then M. Raguet took his carabine and fired in turn upon them and I did as much. Raguet fired three or four shots, but unluckily in his haste he put in the ball before the powder, which a little retarded the quickness of the firing, and when, having reloaded his carabine, he wished to fire, not well seeing how to aim, he put his arm outside the boat and it was at once broken by a gunshot fired by the Indians. [In a note at this point Dr. Saugrain adds: Some one at the Falls of the Ohio said that I did wrong to fire; I think so too, for in the boats which have been taken before and since no one has been killed, inasmuch as no one has made resistance.] I, who put my hand outside to hold my gun better and aim better, I had a finger of my left hand broken. At the first shots that the Indians fired from their boat into ours the American who was with us jumped far out and swam to land. This did us much harm, for then the Indians, who perhaps had left us, fired much more. M. Raguet had his arm broken and I my finger. I think I fired but once afterward. As for M. Piqué, he did not wish to fire, thinking, I believe, that the Indians would do him no harm if they took him prisoner, and instead of aiding us in our defence, he followed the example of Mr. Pierce. As there were left only M. Raguet and myself, we both threw ourselves into the water. As he had his arm broken and did not know how to swim, I believe he was drowned, preferring, as he told me, to be drowned to being scalped by the Indians. I had not yet reached the shore when I saw M. Piqué and two Indians waiting for me, and I had no sooner touched the shore than they took me and bound my hands behind my back with some girths which serve them to hold up their blankets. They had no sooner finished tying me than I saw one of the two who held me go to M. Piqué, throw him upon the ground and

after having opened his coat and pulled open his shirt, give him four stabs with a knife on one side and one on the other, and he scalped him. He put his scalp into a pocket-book, which M. Piqué had in his pocket. I leave you to think, my friends, what a spectacle for me! I expected for myself, as you well imagine, a like fate. But instead of killing me they made me run to overtake the boat which, although it was headed towards the shore, had drifted nearly a quarter of a mile from the place where we swam ashore before they could come up with it. When we got opposite our boat, one of the two went into the water and wished to take me by the hair to lead me, for the boat could not come near the shore on account of the trees which prevented it. As for me, such cruel fear seized me, seeing that he had not killed me and that he wished to cross the Ohio—I believed that he wished to burn me on the other side—in short I made an effort violent enough to break the straps that held me bound and I threw myself into the water and I swam with such force that he did not wish to run the risk of following me, and he did well, for my plan was, if they came after me, to seize one of them and drown with him.

Those who had jumped from their boat—swimming—to take us on shore, got into the one they had just taken from us and began to cross the Ohio. As for me, I held on to a tree with my arms about it. Those Indians who were in the boat fired at me and wounded me in the neck. When I saw the boat midway of the Ohio, I regained the shore and when I went to see if M. Piqué were quite dead, I perceived Mr. Pierce who had concealed himself in the ravine. He came to me and we went to see M. Piqué, who was quite dead, and in turning him over, I saw that the Indians had not taken his watch. I took it and likewise a knife and two dollars he had in his pocket. Mr. Pierce cut a piece of his coat to cover his feet. I had not the same forethought, of which I much repented. We left there M. Piqué and we began to walk. It was very cold and I had nothing upon me but a shirt and a pair of large breeches. I lost my shoes while swimming. At first we went a little away from the bank of the Ohio through fear of being seen by the Indians who were on the other side. After having made about four or five miles night began to come on. I

was very tired ; I lost much blood by the wound I had in my neck, and as we found ourselves in a good place to sleep, there being much dead grass there, we lay down and Mr. Pierce had the kindness to pull up a quantity of the dead grass and we covered ourselves with it. I slept nearly three hours and my companion awoke me. We went back to the bank of the Ohio and he began to wish to make a raft. But he never could have succeeded seeing that he was alone, for my neck was so swollen that I could not move my right arm and my left hand was much swollen. Seeing that it was useless to work, for the vines of which he made use to fasten the pieces of timber all broke, we abandoned the attempt at a raft. And we began to walk and walked a great part of the night. At last about four o'clock we lay down again. A fallen tree was the place Mr. Pierce chose. He lay down under it and I got as near him as possible. It came on to snow and as my feet did not come under the tree and as it rained a little, I found my feet frozen when I awoke. I rubbed them a long time with snow but uselessly. They caused me no pain, so we made a good day's march, always following the bank of the Ohio in the hope we might see some boat which, going down to the Falls, would take us in. We were obliged to cross three or four creeks. The number of deer, of turkeys and of pheasants we saw is quite inconceivable. We saw also four or five troops of buffaloes, which came so near us that with a pistol I could have killed some. Night came on and we lay down. It still rained—little it is true—but that not the less caused much pain to my feet. The next day I could hardly walk, and my companion who was impatient left me often very far behind him. But I found a way of making him come—it was to sit down, and he after having waited for me some time, thinking that something had happened to me, retraced his steps and seeing my feet as black as coal and that I could not walk, he gave me his arm and he cut a piece from his shirt to wrap up my hand. My neck was extraordinarily swelled, but it did not bleed any more. I chewed up a sort of agaric, which I put on it. We kept on walking but very slowly. I saw a stinking beast (*bête puante*), and Mr. Pierce had no sooner seen it than he ran after it and with a blow with a stick he killed it. After skinning it he wished to eat some of it, but he

could not. As for me, I cut off some little bits and I swallowed them like pills. This did me little good, I assure you. We could have cooked it had it not been for fear that the Indians would come to us, seeing the smoke. I could have made a fire without much trouble. The sun shone and I had two watches, the crystals of which would have made a lens by filling them with water and fitting them together. At last after making so excellent a repast and a considerable halt, I took the rest of the stinking beast and put it in my shirt to carry it. About five o'clock in the evening we came to a house which had been abandoned. I was told (afterward) it was fifteen miles from the Big Miami, the place where we were attacked.

When we had rested half an hour a fresh desire seized us to make a raft and we put into the water everything we could, and while my companion did the heavy business, as carrying the doors of the house, some fence or poteaux de barrière, etc., I cut into pieces my companion's jacket, which was made of buckskin, for that is very much in use in America, to make cords and I cut the seat from my big breeches to make some socks and cover my feet. The whole affair went on very well; the raft was made and we were going aboard when from the other side of the river Indians fired at us. This did not alarm us much, considering the distance but what did make us afraid, and especially me, was the Indians who replied from the side where we were to the cries of those on the other side. Then I took to my heels and never in my life do I think I made so good use of them. My feet no longer made me suffer; in short I felt nothing. My companion, however, was still more alert than I, and in two minutes I lost sight of him. At last I was obliged to stop because in running a piece of stick ran into my foot. My companion in misfortune retraced his steps, and as night protected us from the Indians we lay down, and it was one of the worst nights I have passed in my life. I could not sleep, and at each moment I thought I saw Indians, and the march the next day was still worse, for although wide-awake, I saw Indians behind all the trees; each bit of wood was a gun and I believe, to alarm us more, all the deer had conspired. I had great need of food—much exercise, involuntary baths, the quantity of blood lost—I ate some more stinking beast, “polecat.”

Before sunrise we were on the march; for the time I walked more on my hands than on my feet. I drew myself along, I know not how. We came to a creek, which, I believe is a few miles from Big Bone Lick and there for the first time Mr. Pierce and I had a little dispute. The question was about crossing a large creek. Mr. Pierce wished to go up to cross it; I was strongly for swimming across it. Seeing that he wished absolutely to make the grand détour and leave the bank of the Ohio, I did as I always did. A violent part seemed to me the best. —How much he has since thanked me for it.—To put an end to the dispute, I went into the water. He had his back turned and could not oppose my plan. I was already in the water before he was aware of it. Thus I crossed fortunately and he did not delay to follow me. It was about eleven o'clock in the morning. We stripped ourselves stark naked and dried our clothes. This bath did us good. When we were dressed we continued our route.

Nothing unusual happened to us until we got to another creek, which was nearly four miles from the last one we had just crossed. As we were going to swim across it as we did the other, Mr. Pierce saw two boats coming down the Ohio. He called to them, but the boats kept off, believing we were Indians, but seeing our white shirts and our breeches, they determined to come to us. For this purpose they put all the men into one of the boats and left the other with the women and just one man to steer it. This took quite a long time, during which the current kept carrying them on. This time I did not have to beg Mr. Pierce to cross this creek as well as two or three others which followed it. As for me, I followed him, but much more slowly. At last we swam out to join them, for they could not approach the shore on account of the trees which prevented them. It was surprising to me, arrived on board, to see all the people of the boat that received us with carabines in hand. But the fear of being surprised by the Indians obliged them to be on their guard. Arrived on board, they undressed me, warmed some whiskey and rubbed all my body, which did me much good. I drank a little of it and ate a little bread, which seemed to me good. They dressed my neck, which was much swelled. As for my hand, they did nothing for it. They waited until we

should be at the Falls to cut off the finger—which was not done, thanks to myself. My feet were in a very bad condition and gave me much pain.

Two days' sailing were enough to bring us to the Falls, where I passed the night of March 29th. The next day, which was Sunday, I crossed the Ohio to go to a fort situate opposite Louisville, where I was most cordially received. I was introduced by Col. Blaine [here a footnote: whose acquaintance I made at Fort Pitt. He had come down some time before us and arrived at the Falls without accident]; and Major Willis gave me a reception for which I cannot be too grateful. In short I stayed in the fort with all possible comfort from March 30th to May 11th. For three weeks I could not move and every day they had to take out some portion of my foot which began to putrefy, but with the care of the fort's surgeon and with patience all has been well and my foot is quite cured except the place where the piece of stick went in when I was running away in the woods. Thus far I have been unable to cure it.

Louisville is quite small. Nothing wonderful is found in it. The ruins of an old fort (Fort Nelson) are to be seen; they are upon the bank of the Ohio, as is the town. I believe they do not at all exaggerate its unhealthiness. The city and its environs are very sickly. There are found even in the town low grounds, filled with water, from which exhales the most dreadful stench, especially in the heat of summer. It would not, however, cost much labor to drain these marshes which give the inhabitants fevers, which, if not mortal, are long in curing. The other side of the Ohio, where I stayed some time, where an American fort (Fort Steuben) is built and where there are two hundred men in garrison, is not more healthy than Louisville and there are few persons free from fever. This fort is in a very pretty situation. The land there is excellent and there are trees on every side.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS OF CERTAIN AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY LUCIEN CARR.

OF the cause or causes that first led to the use of clothing we know nothing, though various theories have been brought forward by way of accounting for it. Herbert Spencer,¹ for instance, is of the opinion that it grew out of the wish for admiration; other investigators tell us that it was adopted as a protection against the weather;² whilst according to the Biblical record,³ our first parents clothed themselves in aprons of fig leaves in order to conceal their nakedness. Without stopping to inquire into the truth of these and other theories, it is probably safe to say that the use of clothing, like many of our customs and practices, had its origin in a variety of motives, each one of which may have been prepotent in its time and place. At all events, considered as a working hypothesis, this explanation, even if it does not throw a definite light upon the origin of the custom, enables us to account satisfactorily for the differences in the nature and amount of clothing worn by tribes in different portions of the world, as well as for the differences that exist, today, among people of the same tribe at different seasons. The process may even be carried further; for it is only by the aid of some such elastic principle of explanation that we can understand why a savage, at one time, decks himself in gaudy apparel and at

¹ Principles of Sociology II., p. 185: New York, 1896.

² "Ils se couvrent pour bannir le froid, et non pour paroître": Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 46: Quebec, 1858. "Ne couvrent point du tout leur honte et nudité, sinon pour cause de grand froid et de longs voyages, qui les obligent à se servir d'une couverture de peau": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 51: Paris, 1865.

³ Genesis III., verses 7 and 21.

another abjures it; why he paints himself red, black or in figures as the occasion requires; or why he pierces his nose, blackens his teeth, cuts off his finger, or otherwise scarifies or mutilates his body. To assert that these and the other similar methods by which he seeks to give expression to his feelings and desires, sprung originally from one and the same motive, is to involve ourselves in a network of conjecture from which there is no escape. For this reason, then, in the course of this investigation into the modes of dress and methods of ornamentation of those of our Indians that dwelt east of the Mississippi River, we propose to confine ourselves strictly to the accounts given by the early chroniclers, and will make no effort to fathom the motives that may have governed the Indians in any or all of these particulars, except in so far as they are made known to us by the authors from whom we quote.

Before, however, entering upon the subject, it may be well to premise that when the Europeans first began to visit these shores, our Indians were not in such a state of destitution that they were obliged to go naked, or to content themselves with a scrap of skin barely sufficient to cover their backs, as is said to have been the case with some of the Fuegians.¹ Indeed, so far were they from anything of the kind, that their ordinary dress, as we shall see further on, consisted of a number of different articles which were made of different materials and varied with the locality and the climate. Of these articles they appear, as a rule, to have had an adequate supply, though there can be no doubt that whenever it suited their comfort or convenience, they did not hesitate to lay any or all of them aside² and go

¹ Darwin, *Voyage of a Naturalist*, I., p. 274: New York, 1846.

² "Si tost que l'air est chaud, où qu'ils entrent dans leurs cabanes, ils jettent leurs atours à bas, les hommes restant tous nuds, à la reserve d'un brayer qui leur cache ce qui ne peut être vu sans vergogne. Pour les femmes, elles quittent leurs bonnet, leurs manches, et bas de chausses, le reste du corps demeurant couvert"; Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 46: Quebec, 1858. "In summer they go naked having only their private parts covered with a patch": Megapolensis, Short

naked.¹ Bearing upon this point, and, to some extent, confirmatory of what is said as to the supply of clothing, is the fact that although the Indians living east of the Mississippi belonged to different linguistic families and were often at war with each other and among themselves, yet there existed among them a system of intertribal traffic by means of which the people of any one section were able to

Sketch of the Mohawk Indians, in Collections of the New York Hist. Soc., second series, Vol. III., part 1, p. 154: New York, 1858. "Pendant les chaleurs les hommes ne portent qu' un brayer: c'est une peau de chevreuil passée en blanc où teinte en noir; . . . Les femmes dans les chaleurs n' ont qu' une demi-anne de limbourg, au moyen de laquelle elles se couvrent; elles tournent ce drap autour de leur corps, & sont bien cachées depuis la ceinture jusqu' aux genoux; quand elles n' ont point de limbourg, elles employent au même usage une peau de chevreuil: aux hommes ainsi qu' aux femmes, le reste du corps demeure à decouvert": Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II., pp. 190, 191: Paris, 1758. ". . . nous vîmes quelque quatre-vingts ou cent sauvages tout nuds, hormis le brayet, qui faisoient Tabagie, &c.": Lescarbot II., p. 569: Paris, 1866. In Jesuit Relation, 1632, p. 4, we are told that certain prisoners having been made to sing and dance, the oldest among them "commence à marcher le long de la cabane tout nud, hormis . . . un morceau de peau qui couvrait ce que la nature a caché": Quebec, 1858. Describing an Indian Council Lafitau says: "C'est une troupe de erasseux, assis sur leur derrière, accroupis comme des singes, & ayant leurs genoux auprès de leurs oreilles, ou bien couchés différemment le dos, ou le ventre en l' air, qui tous la pipe à la bouche traitent des affaires d' état avec autant de sang froid & de gravité, que la Jonte de l' Espagne ou le conseil des Sages à Venise": *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, II., p. 178: Paris, 1724. "Les hommes, quand il fait chaud, n' ont souvent sur le corps qu' un brasier; l' hyver ils se couvrent plus ou moins suivant le climat": Charlevoix, VI., p. 39, Paris: 1744. Compare plate p. 308 in Vol. II., Du Pratz *Louisiane*. Plate XI., XII., XVII., &c., in Harriot's *First Plantation of Virginia*. Figure 2 in plate on p. 38 of Vol. III., Lafitau. Plate p. 130 in Vol. II. of La Hontan, *Voyages dans l' Amerique Septentrionale, A la Haye*, 1703. Cartier, in Hakluyt, II., p. 93.

¹ In the *Nation du Petun*, "les hommes vont tout nuds sans reserve": Jesuit Relations, 1641, p. 59. Among the Cheveux Relevez or Ottowas, ". . . les hommes ne couvrent point du tout leurs parties naturelles, qu' ils tiennent à decouvert, avec tout le reste du corps sans honte ny vergogne": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 53, Paris: 1865. "Mais ils sont . . . harrons et traitres et quoy qu' ils soient nuds, on ne se peut garder de leurs mains": Lescarbot, II., p. 537. "Les femmes se despoillèrent toutes nues, et se jetèrent en l' eau, allants au devant les canots pour prendre ces testes," &c.: Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 206. "Les femmes ont le corps couvert, et les hommes decouvert, sans aucune chose, sinon qu' une robe de fourrure, qu' ils mettent sur leur corps, qui est en façon de manteau, laquelle ils laissent ordinairement, et principalement en été. Les femmes et les filles ne sont plus emues de les voir de la façon, que si elles ne voyoient rien qui sembleroit estrange": *Ib.* I., p. 357: Paris,

avail themselves of the surplus products of their neighbors.¹ This traffic, we need not say, was of a very primitive character. In truth, it was nothing but barter,—the exchange of one set of commodities for another; and judging from

1830. "All of them go naked and are very lean": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, part II., p. 146. Among the Tonicas, Tensas, &c., of the lower Mississippi "the men on account of the great heat go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve years go entirely naked" . . . "The girls and women are dressed . . . even worse for we have seen some 25 and 30 years old quite naked" . . . "the married women covered from the waist to the knee and the girls naked up to the age of 12 years and sometimes until they are married": Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, pp. 77, 80, 83, Albany: 1861. "The male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age": Bartram, *Travels*, p. 502: Dublin, 1793. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, Buckingham Smith's Translation, pp. 39, 82, 86: New York, 1871. "The men go naked": Marquette, in *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 48: New York, 1852. Cartier, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 91, 128, Edinburgh: 1889. There were also, and they seem to have been quite general, certain dances in which the girls taking part were naked, but these do not come within the scope of this investigation.

¹"Les Nations Sauvages commercerent les uns avec les autres de tout tems . . . elles ont toutes quelque chose de particulier que les autres n'ont pas, & le trafic fait circuler toutes ces choses des unes aux autres. Ce sont des grains de Porcelaine, des fourrures des robes, du Tabac, des nattes, des canots, des ouvrages en poil d'Orignal, de porc-épie, de Boeuf Sauvage, des lits de coton, des ustancels de menage, des calumets; en un mot, tout ce qui est là en usage pour les secours de la vie humaine": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, IV., p. 52: Paris, 1724. "Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, fowls, fish, flesh and their country corn": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, I., p. 137: Richmond, 1819. In dealing with the French, the Indians "troquent leurs peaux de castors, de Loutre, d'Eslans, de Martres, de Loups Marins, &c., contre du pain, des pois, fèves, baches, fers de fleches, aleines, poinçons, cabots, couvertes, et toutes autres commoditez que les Français leur apportent": Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 7. and 1626, p. 5: Quebec, 1858. Cf. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., pp. 87, 90, 93: Paris, 1865. Champlain, *Voyages*, I., pp. 322, 357, 382: Paris, 1830. Cabeça de Vaca, pp. 85 et seq.: New York, 1871. Tonti, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, I., pp. 72, 73. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 58, 176, 208: London, 1718. In *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, historically considered, republished in the Smithsonian Report for 1891, I have given some of the reasons which led me to the conclusion "that there existed among them a system of intertribal traffic, in which among other things corn and slaves were bartered for skins and such other articles as were needed": p. 533 and note, p. 571: Washington, 1893. Exchange salt "for skins and mantles": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, I., p. 179. "Barter furs and hides for what they want": Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 62. Cf. Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 36; 1647, p. 56, and 1672, p. 36: Quebec, 1858.

the experience of Cabeça de Vaca,¹ it was carried on by peddlers who travelled to and fro with their packs, much as they do today, in the more remote settlements of our country. As the distances they had to traverse were often great, and transportation was correspondingly difficult, this traffic could not have been regular or large in amount; and yet such was its extent that it prevailed not only over the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, but also far to the westward of that stream. In no other way can we explain the trade in copper and shells² that must have taken place between the Indians of Minnesota and of Florida; and it was only by means of such an exchange of commodities that the furs of the North and the robes of the West were

¹ "With my merchandise and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased, and travelled along the coast 40 or 50 leagues. The principal wares were coues and other pieces of sea snail, conches used for cutting, and fruit like a bean, of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine, and employ in their dances and festivities. Among other matters were sea beads. Such were what I carried into the interior; and in barter I got and brought back skins, ochre, with which they rub and color the face, hard canes of which to make arrows, sinews, cement, and flint for the heads, and tassels of the hair of deer, that by dyeing they make red. This occupation suited me well; for the travel allowed me liberty to go where I wished. I was not obliged to work, and was not treated as a slave. Wherever I went I received fair treatment, and the Indians gave me to eat out of regard to my commodities." *Relation of Cabeça de Vaca*, translated by Buckingham Smith, pp. 55, *et seq.*: New York, 1871.

². . "Sea shells were much worn by those of the interior parts and reckoned very ornamental; but how they procured them I could not learn: probably by their traffic with other nations nearer the sea": Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 227: London, 1778. "On les trouve sur les côtes de la Virginie & de la Nouvelle Angleterre, où les sauvages qui habitoient sur ces bords, les mettoient en œuvre, & en faisoient un grand commerce": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, II., p. 200: Paris, 1724. "The Narragansetts are the most numerous people, the most rich and the most industrious, being the storehouse of all such kind of wild merchandize as is amongst them. Their men are the most curious minters of their wampum-peague and Mowhakes which they form out of the inmost wreathes of Periwinkle-shells. The Northern, Eastern and Western Indians fetch all their coyne from these Southern mint masters. From hence they have most of their curious pendants and bracelets": *New England's Prospect*, p. 69. "It is safe to assume that the Lake Superior district furnished the greater part of the copper in use by the Southern Indians, which was doubtless traded for shell ornaments and ornaments or for the raw material obtainable only on the sea board or on the Gulf coast. Moreover as aboriginal copper with visible admixture of silver has

brought within reach of the tribes that lived outside of the range of the buffalo and the fur-bearing animals.¹

Returning from this digression and beginning our investigation with a survey of the entire field, we find that, everywhere east of the Mississippi and south of the great lakes, the Indians had reached the same level of development. "In color and make," in modes of dress and methods of ornamentation, not less than in their manners and customs, arts and industries, form of government and religious observances, they were so much alike that, except within certain limits due in good part to natural causes, it may be truly said of them, as it was a hundred years and more ago, that "whoever had seen one Indian had seen them all."² Take, for instance, the question of color and

been found in the Southern States, it is virtually safe to assume that with such metal went other Lake copper in which silver is not perceptible": Clarence B. Moore, *Sand Mounds of the St. John's River*, part II., p. 238. On p. 241 of the same work, we are told, as a result of numerous analyses, that the main supply of the copper found in Florida "was obtained from the Lake Superior region, most of which copper is non arsenical": Philadelphia, 1894. Cf., Charlevoix *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., p. 308: Paris 1744. *Smithsonian Report for 1891*, note p. 571: Washington, 1893.

¹The buffalo "come as far as the sea coast of Florida" (Texas), "from a northerly direction, ranging through a tract of more than four hundred leagues; and throughout the whole region over which they run, the people who inhabit near, descend and live upon them, distributing a vast number of hides into the interior of the country": Cabeça de Vaca, p. 107, New York, 1871. "... ou bien pour l'aller traicter en d' autres Nations pour des pelletries ou autres choses qui leur font besoin": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 93: Paris, 1865. "Ces peuples vont negocier avec d' autres qui se tiennent en ces parties septentrionales . . . et où il y a quantité de grands animaux: et m' ayants figuré leur forme, j' ai jugé estre des buffles": Champlain, *Voyages* I., p. 362: Paris, 1830. See also same volume, p. 322. "Riches consist in hides of wild cattle": Marquette, p. 48. Cf. Knight of Elvas *passim* for abundance of skins.

²"Visto un Indio de qualquier Region se puede decir han visto todos en quanto al color y contextura": Ulloa, *Noticias Americanas*, p. 308: Madrid, 1772. "Ils ont tous fonceiements, les mêmes mœurs et usages, de même que la manière de parler et de penser; ayant les mêmes sentiments les uns que les autres": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, III., p. 217: Paris, 1758. "C' est partout le même esprit de Gouvernement, le même génie pour les affaires, la même méthode pour les traiter, le même usage pour les Assemblées secretees & solennelles, le même caractère dans leurs festins, dans leurs danses & dans leurs divertissements": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Vol. II., pp. 165, 224.

bodily conformation, and we are told that the Indians of the North and West,¹ like their neighbors on the Atlantic² and the Gulf coasts,³ were either of an olive or a copper

"I have made observations on thirty nations, and . . . there has appeared a great similarity in their manners." . . . "The Indian Nations do not appear to me to differ so widely in their make, colour, or constitution from each other as represented by some writers": Carver, *Travels*, pp. 222, 223: London, 1778. Cf. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, II., p. 47: Philadelphia. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amérindiens*, I., p. 99: Paris, 1724. Flint's *Travels*, p. 136. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 391.

¹"The color of the Indians approaches a tawny copper: the shades however differ in the different tribes, and even among individuals of the same tribe; but not sufficiently to change the characteristic trait": Hunter, *Captivity*, p. 192: London, 1824. "Sont tous de couleur bazané": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 125, Paris, 1865. "Les femmes sont aussi . . . de couleur bazané, à cause de certaines peintures dont elles se frottent, qui les fait paroître olivastre": Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 167: Paris, 1830. "Ils sont fort bazané, et d'une rouge sale & obscur, ce qui est le plus sensible dans la Floride": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 15: Paris, 1744. "Copper cast": Carver, *Travels*, p. 224: London, 1778. "Ils sont tous de couleur olivastre, ou du moins bazané comme les Espagnols": Lescarbot, III., p. 684: Paris, 1866. "Leur couleur naturelle est comme celle de ces Gueux de France qui sont demi rotis au Soleil": Jesuit Relations, 1632, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "They are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whiteness; others are of yellow colour": Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 396: Edinburgh, 1889.

²"Their skin is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling copper, but in different shades. Some are of a brown yellow, not much differing from the mulattoes; some light brown, hardly to be known from a brown European, except by their hair and eyes": Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians*, p. 12: London, 1794. "Leur couleur, quand ils sont devenus un peu plus grand est d'un chatain brun, mais qui est beaucoup plus claire dans leur enfance": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 225: Amsterdam, 1707. Of the Indians of the New England coast, Champlain, I., p. 120, speaks as "ayant le teint olivastre": Paris, 1830. "Their skin is yellow": Megapolensis, p. 154. "Having no beautie but a swarfish colour, and no dressing but nakednesse": Williams's Key, p. 136: Providence, 1827.

³"Les hommes sont de couleur olivastre": Laudonnière, p. 6: Paris, 1853. "Ces Sauvages sont en general d'un tein roux ou basané: ils sont forts & robustes & n'ont jamais de barbe": Dumont de Montigny, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 136: Paris, 1753. "Their complexion of a reddish brown or copper color" . . . the complexions of the Cherokees "brighter and somewhat of the olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women": Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 481, 482: Dublin, 1793. "The Indians are of a copper or red-clay color": Adair, *History of the American Indians*, pp. 1 and 4: London, 1775. "The people were brown, well made, and well proportioned, and more civil than any others we had seen, &c.": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, p. 144. "Of a colour browne when they are of any age": Capt. Smith, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. Cf. Verrazzano, pp. 391, 391, 396, in Hakluyt, II.: Edinburgh, 1889.

color, or else of some shade of brown. Without pretending to distinguish between these different shades and colors, it may be safely assumed from a study of the different accounts that brown was their natural color, though curiously enough, some of the most trustworthy of the early chroniclers give us to understand that the children, being "of the same nature as ourselves" were born white;¹ and that as they grew older they took on a dark hue, which, so far from being natural, was due to an accumulation of dirt and grease, combined with constant exposure to the sun and air.² In the matter of form they are said to have been straight and well proportioned—neither too fat nor too thin,³—and so far as their constitution was concerned, we

¹Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 125: Paris, 1865.

²"Leur charnure est blanche naturellement comme en font foy les petits enfants; mais le hasle du soleil et les frictions d'huile de Loup marin et de graisse d'Orignac les rend fort basanez, à mesure qu'ils croissent": Jesuit Relations, 1635, p. 43. "Cela ne leur est point naturel. Les fréquentes frlxions dont ils usent leur donne ce rouge, & il est étonnant qu'ils ne soient pas encore plus noirs, étant continuellement exposés à la fumée en hyver, aux plus grands ardeurs du Soleil en été & dans toutes les saisons à toutes les intempéries de l'air": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 15: Paris, 1764. "Indian color not natural . . . is merely accidental or artificial": Adair, p. 2: London, 1775. "Leur couleur . . . est beaucoup plus clair dans leur enfance. Leur cuir s'endurcit ensuite & devient plus noir par la graisse dont ils s'oignent, & les rayons du Soleil auquel ils s'exposent": Beverly, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707. "Les enfans des Naturels sont blancs en naissant; mais il brunissent parce qu'ils les frottent d'huile d'ours étant petits, pour les exposer au Soleil": Du Pratz, II., p. 311: Paris, 1758. "Ils naissent blancs comme nous. Leur nudité, les huiles dont ils se grassent, le Soleil & le grand air leur halent le teint dans la suite": Lafitau, II., p. 96: Paris, 1724. ". . . themselves are tawnie, by the Sunne and their annoyntings, yet they are borne white": Williams's Key, p. 60: Providence, 1827. "Je ne doute point que les Sauvages ne fussent tres blancs s'ils estoient bien couverts": Jesuit Relations, 1632, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an olive colour, aud are far whiter. For the chief cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annoyntings of oil": Laudonnière, in Hakluyt, II., p. 416: Edinburgh, 1889. "They are borne white": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. "Their swarthinnes is the Sun's Livery, for they are borne fair": *New England's Prospect*, in Prince Soc. Publications, p. 71: Boston, 1865.

³"Ils sont tous generalement bien formez et proportionnez de leur corps . . . car ils ne sont ny trop gras ny trop maigres": Sagard, p. 125. "Tous les Naturels de l'Amerique en général sont tres-bien faits . . . si l'on n'en voit point qui sont extrêmement gras & replets, aussi n'y en a-t-il point d'aussi

can well understand from their manner of life that they were strong, robust and very active.¹ There were no dwarfs or deformed persons among them, and if cripples were ever met with, it was generally found that they had been made so by some accident.² In regard to their size, however, the accounts differ, as might have been expected in view of the differences that existed in this respect among the tribes. By some writers they are represented as being of good height,—“of such a difference of stature as wee in

maigres que des étiques”: Du Pratz, II., p. 308. “Les Sauvages du Canada sont communement bien faits et d’une taille avantageuse; il n’y a néanmoins quelques Nations où il n’est point rare d’en voir d’une taille médiocre; mais il l’est infiniment d’en rencontrer qui soient contre faits, où qui aient quelque défaut extérieur. Ils sont robuste & d’une complexion saine”: Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 3: Paris, 1744. “They are well formed, nimble, &c.” Marquette, Narrative, in *Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 32: New York, 1852.

¹Of the Armouchiquois (New England Indians), Champlain, I., pp. 95 and 112, says: “Ce sont gens dispos, bien formez de leur corps,” and on p. 167 he tells us that the Indians near Quebec, “sont bien proportionnez de leurs corps, sans difformité et sont dispos”: Paris, 1830. “Ils sont droits & bien proportionnez, & ils ont le bras & les jambes d’une tournure merveilleuse: ils n’ont point le moindre imperfection sur le corps”: Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 226. “Ils sont forts et robustes”: Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 136: Paris, 1753. “They are tall, erect and moderately robust; their limbs are well shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure”: Bartram, *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793. “Quant à nos sauvages . . . ils sont fort bien membrus, bien ossus et bien corsus, robuste à l’avenant”: Lescarbot, III., p. 689. “Les Armouchiquois sont dispos comme levriers”: *Ib.*, p. 692: Paris, 1866. “In general, they are strong, well proportioned in body and limbs, surprisingly active and nimble and hardy in their own way of living”: Adair, p. 4. “They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie”; Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. “The men are mostly slender, middle-sized, handsome and straight . . . the women are short and not so handsome”: Loskiel, p. 12: London, 1794. “They are between five and six foote high, straight bodied, strongly composed, smooth skinned, merry countenanced, of complexion something more swarthy than Spaniards, black haired, high foreheaded, black ey’d, out-nosed, broad shouldered, brawny armed, long and slender banded, out breasted, small wasted, lank bellied, well thighed, flat kneed, handsome growne leggs and small feet”: *New England’s Prospect*, p. 70, in Prince Soc. Pub. “Tall and straight, of a comely proportion”: Capt. Smith, p. 129. “Tall . . . strong and robust”: Narrative of Father Membré, p. 151.

²“Vous ne raconteriez pas entre eux un ventru, un bossu, ni un contrefaict; ladres, goutteux, pierreux insensés ils ne savent ce que c’est”: Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8: Quebec, 1858. “S’il y a quelque camu c’est chose rare . . . je n’y ay point veu de nains, ni qui en approchassent”: Lescarbot, III., p. 683.

England,"¹ whilst according to others, they were taller or shorter than Europeans or than each other, according to the tribe or tribes described. The Iroquois, Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws are mentioned as being among the taller, whilst among the shorter are the Choctaw, the Kickapoo² and a nameless tribe which is said to have lived

"Ils n' ont pas le moindre imperfection sur le corps, & je n' ai ouï dire qu' il y eut aucun qui fut nain, bossu, tortu, ou contrefait": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 226. "Il n'y a pas même de ces gros ventrus . . . je n'y ai jamais vu ni aperçu qu' un borgne . . . et un bon viellard Huron, qui pour être tombé du haut d' une cabane en bas s' estoit fait boiteux": Sagard, I., p. 125. "It is remarkable that there are no deformed Indians": Adair, p. 5. Cf. Du Pratz, II., p. 309. Carver, p. 223. Loskiel, p. 12. "Never did I see one that was borne either in redundancy or defect a monster, or any that sickness had deformed or casualty made decrepit, saving one that had a beared eye and another that had a wenne on his cheek": *New England's Prospect*, p. 71.

¹ Harriot, *A briefe and true Report of the new found land of Virginia*, p. 36: London, 1593. "Les Indiens sont de la taille moyenne et de la plus haute des Anglais": Beverly, p. 225. "Quant aux Armouchiquois, ils sont aussi beaux hommes (souz ce mot je comprends aussi les femmes) que nous, bien composés et dispos": Lescarbot, II., p. 376. "Ils sont de bonne hanteur": *Ib.*, III., p. 683: Paris, 1866. "Of much the same stature with us Dutchemen": Megapolensis, in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Society*, 2d series, Vol. III., part I., p. 154. "On n' en voit que tres peu au dessous de cinq pieds et demi et beaucoup au dessus . . . le uns & les autres sont assez bien proportionnez dans leur taille et dans leur hauteur, ne s' en trouvant point comme en Europe d' une figure gigantesque, ou aussi courts que les nains": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., 308, 309. "They exceed us in bignes": Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 396.

² "Universellement parlant, ils sont de taille moindre que nous principalement, quant à l'espaisseur, belle toute fois et bien prise, comme si nous demeurions à l'estat que nous avons @ 25 ans": Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8. Among the Creeks, "the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above six feet, and few under that, or five feet eight or ten inches": Bartram's Travels, p. 482. On same page he tells us "the Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen": Dublin, 1793. "The Chikkasah are exceedingly taller and stronger-bodied than the Choktah: Adair, p. 5. "The Shawnees and . . . Cherokees are tall; . . . the Kickapoos are short; while the Delawares and Ottowas, who are remarkable for their full chests and broad shoulders, are intermediates to the two former": Hunter, Narrative, p. 190: London, 1824. "Choctah more slender than any other nation of savages I have seen. . . raw-boned and surprisngly active in ball playing": Adair, p. 307. "Du reste ces femmes Sauvages ont toutes la taille assez bien prise, & sont en general d'une figure assez agréable, mais les unes plus, les autres moins, selon la différence des Nations": Dumont, I., p. 139: Paris, 1753. "Ils sont grands, d'une taille superieure à la notre": Lafitau, I., p. 96: Paris, 1724. See next preceding note, and note on p. 389.

somewhere in the Iroquois mountains, and to have made up in warlike activity what it lacked in size.¹ Great as was the difference in this particular among the men, it was not any less, if we may credit Bartram, among the women. According to that usually accurate observer, the Creek, or as he styles them, the Muscogulge women are the smallest known, seldom above five feet high and the greater number not even that, with hands and feet about as large as those of a European child of nine or ten years of age.² On the other hand, "the women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry; their countenance cheerful and friendly; and they move with becoming grace and dignity."³

Of their more prominent facial characteristics or features, we are told that their eyes were neither blue nor green, but black, of fair size and not small, as was the case with the ancient Scythians.⁴ Other writers describe them as being either large or small,⁵ depending somewhat; it is believed, upon the fancy of the observer; and Beverly reports that in Virginia there was a slight squint, as is

¹ Lescarbot, II., p. 383, and III., p. 683: Paris, 1866. I give this statement for what it is worth, and that is little enough, as it probably refers to the Mohawks.

² Bartram, *Travels*, p. 482: Dublin, 1793. He prefaces the statement with the following description: "The Muscogulge women, though remarkably short of stature, are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence and bashfulness; these charms are their defensive and offensive weapons, and they know very well how to play them off, and under cover of these alluring graces, are concealed the most subtle artifice; they are, however, loving and affectionate". Referring to the Indians of Virginia, Beverly says: "presque toutes leurs femmes sont d'une grande beauté; elles ont la taille fine, les traits delicats, & il ne leur manque d'autres charmes que ceux d'un beau teint": *Virginie*, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707.

³ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793.

⁴ Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 689: Paris, 1866.

⁵ "Their eyes are small, sharp and black": Adair, p. 6. "The eye, though rather small, yet active and full of fire,—the iris always black": Bartram, p. 481. "Their eyes are large and black": Loskiel, p. 12. "Eyes large and black": Carver, p. 223. "Ils les ont tous noirs et plus petits que les autres": *Jesuit Relations*, 1658, p. 28: Quebec, 1858.

often seen among the Jews, but which is not at all unbecoming.¹ However, be all this as it may, it is generally conceded that their sight was better than that of the average European, though it is doubtful whether this can be properly ascribed to the fact that they neither drank wine, nor made use of salt, spices or anything else that was calculated to dry up or alter the constitution of the eye.² In regard to their hair, our accounts are somewhat more uniform. Except in a few abnormal cases, when it is said to have been of an auburn or chestnut color,³ it was "long, lank, coarse, and black as a raven." That it "reflected the like lustre at different exposures to the light,"⁴ is no doubt true, though it is possible that this shining appearance may have been in part due to the use of the fat of animals, or of the oil of nuts or sunflower seed, in which they habitually indulged.⁵ Of beard, they had

¹ *Virginie*, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707.

² "Pour ce qui concerne le sens de la vue, il est tout certain qu' il est universellement plus parfait chez les Sauvages que chez les Français, . . . Les Français ne se fient pas tant à leurs propres yeux qu' aux yeux des Sauvages. Ils les ont tous noirs, et plus petit que les autres. Je me persuaderois volontiers, que l'ascendant qu' ils ont par dessus nous en cet endroit, provient de ce qu' ils ne boivent point de vin; de ce qu' ils ne mangent ni sel, ni épices, ni autres choses capable de dessécher et d'alterer le temperament de l'œil": *Jesuit Relations*, 1658, p. 28. Cf. Lescarbot, III., p. 693: Paris, 1866.

³ First voyage to Virginia in Hakluyt, II., p. 287: Edinburgh, 1889. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 126. Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 686. "I never saw any with curled hair, but one in the Choktah country, where was also another with red hair": Adair, p. 6. He adds, "probably they were a mixture of the French and Indians": London, 1775. This explanation will probably hold good for the yellow haired Indian seen in Virginia by Master George Percy, and it will account for the blue-eyed and light-haired Mandans, of whom we have often heard, as well as the Indian with a thick black beard, whom Capt. Smith, p. 184, saw:

⁴ Bartram's *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793. "Jet black, stiff, lank, coarse, almost like horse-hair. . . . Curled hair is seldom found amongst them": Loskiel, p. 12: London, 1794. "Ils portent les cheveux fort noirs et longs jusques sur la hanche": Laudonnière, *Histoire notable de la Floride*, p. 6: Paris, 1853. Cf. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. Carver, *Travels*, p. 223: London, 1778.

⁵ "Longs, roides, noirs et tout luisans de graisse": *Jesuit Relations*, 1658, p. 29. "Ils les oignent de graisse pour les rendre luisans": Beverly, p. 226. Cf. Charlevoix, V., p. 240. Champlain, I., p. 325. Du Pratz, II., p. 410. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 121. Richmond, 1819. Loskiel, p. 52. *New England's Prospect*, p. 71.

none, or rather they plucked it out as fast as it grew; and there seems to have been but little hair—some writers say none—upon any other part of the body. Even the little that there was, including in some instances the eyebrows and eyelashes, they pulled out with tweezers of wood or clam shell.¹ As the existence of this process of depilation was not suspected, the early chroniclers were surprised at the seemingly hairless condition of the Indians; and the belief that “the children, when born, were covered all over with long thin hair which disappeared at the end of eight days,”² was not calculated to lessen their astonishment.

¹ “Ils n’ont point de barbe, autant peu les hommes que les femmes, hormis quelques uns plus robustes et virils”: Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8, and 1626, p. 4, Quebec, 1858. “Ils n’ont presque point de barbe, et se l’arrachent à mesure qu’elle croît”: Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 112; Paris, 1830. “Ils s’arrachent le poil de la barbe avec une coquille de Moule”: Beverly, p. 227. “. . . il n’en est pas de même du poil des aisselles & de la barbe, qu’ils ont grand soin d’épiler, afin qu’ils ne reviennent jamais; ne pouvant souffrir qu’aucun poil paroisse sur leurs corps, quoique naturellement ils n’en aient pas plus que nous”: Du Pratz, II., p. 198. “Ils ont si peur de cette difformité que si quelque poil vient naître de leur menton, ils l’arrachent aussitôt pour se délivrer de nostre beauté, et de leur laideur”: Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 29. “Ces Sauvages n’ont jamais de barbe”: Dumont, I., p. 136, Paris, 1753. “Il est moins aisé de rendre raison de ce qu’a la réserve des cheveux, que tous ont fort noirs, des cils & des sourcils, que quelques uns même s’arrachent; ils n’ont pas un poil sur tout le corps, et presque tous les Américains sont dans le même cas”: Charlevoix, VI., pp. 15, 16, Paris, 1744. “Romancing travellers . . . report them to be *imbarbes* and as persons *impueres*, and they appear so to strangers. But both sexes pluck all the hair off their bodies with a kind of tweezers made formerly of clam shells”: Adair, p. 6. “The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature, and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any one to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for the purpose”: Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 205; Philadelphia, 1876. Cf. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 126. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 12. Carver, *Travels*, p. 225. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129. Lawson’s *Carolina*, pp. 53, 173; London, 1718. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, I., p. 96; Paris, 1724. Plate IX. and Explanation, *Hariot’s Narrative of the first Plantation of Virginia in 1585*: London, 1893.

² “Ce qui étonne le plus, c’est que leurs enfans naissent avec un poil rare et assez longs par tout le corps, mais qui dispaçoit au bout de huit jours . . . on voit aussi dans les vieillards quelque poils au menton, comme il arrive parmi nous aux Femmes d’un certain âge”: Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 16; Paris, 1744.

In truth, the problem as it presented itself was exceedingly intricate; and we can well understand the difficulty they experienced in trying to account for what must have been to them a "singularity." Fortunately they were not limited in their search for the cause or causes of any given phenomenon. With the whole extent and variety of savage life to draw from, they had but to choose; and accordingly this hairless condition was ascribed by some to the "constant custom the Americans of both sexes have of smoking," and by others to "the quality of their blood, which being purer by reason of the simplicity of their food, produces fewer of those superfluities which our thicker blood occasions in so great an abundance."¹ Of their remaining features, it may be said in a very general way, that they had thin lips, high cheek bones, a prominent nose, broad face;² and whilst their teeth may in some cases have been as white as ivory,³ yet it is well not to be too positive on this point or as to their soundness, in view of what is told us of the prevalence of toothache among some tribes,⁴

¹ J' ai vu attribuer cette singularité au continuel usage, qu' ont les Amériquains de fumer, & qui est commun aux deux sexes: il paroît plus naturel à d' autres de dire que cela vient de la qualité de leur sang, qui étant plus pur, à cause de la simplicité de leurs aliments produit moins de ces superfluités, dont le nôtre, plus grossier, fournit une si grande abondance; ou qui ayant moins de sels, est moins propres à ces sortes de productions": Charlevoix, VI., p. 16: Paris, 1744.

² "Le visage gros, à la façon des anciens Césars": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 29. "The lips of the Indians in general are thin": Adair, p. 5. "Their features are regular, not disagreeable, but the cheek-bones are prominent, especially in the women": Loskiel, p. 12. "Cheek-bones rather raised, but more so in the women than the men": Carver, *Travels*, p. 223: London, 1778. See Note 1, p. 389. C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, p. 75, quoting Capt. Ribaulde. *Per contra*, Hariot, Plate IV., says their noses were "plain and flatte."

³ Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29, and 1626, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "They have good teeth": Carver, p. 223. "Their teeth are very white": Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in Vol. III., of 3d series, Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 294. "Whiter than ivory": Father Rasle, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 255: New York, 1846.

⁴ Lafitau, III., p. 39: Paris, 1724. Williams's Key, pp. 35 and 59: Providence, 1827. Jesuit Relation, 1657, p. 13.

and of the custom of blackening the teeth among others.¹

But it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of our subject further, as our concern is not so much with the facial characteristics of the Indian as it is with his form and figure; and upon this point the accounts are satisfactory. At all events they enable us to construct a fairly representative model, such as he was some two hundred years ago, when Father Lafitau,² speaking of the race generally, tells us that "they are of large size, superior to us in height, well made, well proportioned, of a sound constitution, quick, strong and active; in a word, in bodily qualities they are in no wise our inferiors, if indeed they do not surpass us."

With a model thus complete, it is now in order to drape it properly; and this leads by an easy step to the consideration of the materials of which the Indians made their clothes, as well as of the methods by which these materials were fitted for use. In both of these particulars, we regret to say, the Indian has met with scant justice. Take for instance the item of skins. In the shape of either robes or shammy, they were at the basis of most of the wearing apparel used in early times; and such was the proficiency the Indians had attained in preparing them, that it is doubtful whether with all our arts and appliances, we have been able to produce any better results than they did with their rude and simple methods. Certainly, if only a tithe of what is related of the excellence of their work in this respect be accepted, it would afford ample grounds for saying of them, as a recent writer does of the Crows, "they surpass the world in the beauty of their skin-

¹ The Houmas "like the Natehez and Tonikas blacken the teeth": Gravier, in *Shea's Early Voyages*, p. 147: Albany, 1861. "They blacken them by chewing the coal of tobacco, with the ashes of which they rub the teeth every morning": *Ib.*, p. 142.

² "Mais du reste ils sont grands, d'une taille supérieure à la nôtre, bien faits, bien proportionnés, d'un bon temperament, lestes, forts & adroits; en un mot, pour les qualitez du corps, ils ne nous cèdent en rien, si même ils n'ont sur nous quelque avantage": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, Tome I., p. 96: Paris, 1724.

dressings.”¹ As this process was practically the same from Canada to Louisiana, and with the skin of a buffalo, as with that of a deer or any other animal, we hazard nothing in drawing upon representative writers² for a short description of the method of procedure. Accordingly, supplementing one of these accounts by the other and omitting all minor details, we find that the skins were soaked in water for two or three days to remove the hair. They were then scraped until they were clean and of a desired thickness, after which they were rubbed until they became soft and dry. To add to the softness they were covered with brains or, if in season, with young corn,³ which was so thoroughly rubbed in that in a little while they became white, soft and very pliable. When intended for use as moccasins, it was desirable to have them less susceptible to injury from water; and to this end they were “tempered with oyle,” or smoked over a fire made of rotten wood or some other material that would not blaze. This smoking colored the skin yellow, but it seems to have had the desired effect in other respects.⁴ Exactly how or why this was so is not told, though we are assured that

¹ Prof. Otis T. Mason in the Smithsonian Report for 1889, p. 568. We commend this article and also Chap. IV., in *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*: New York, 1894, by the same author, to all who are interested in aboriginal skin-dressing. Catlin, *North American Indians*, I., p. 45, and *Our Wild Indians*, by Col. Richard I. Dodge, pp. 253, 254, may be consulted to advantage.

² Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, Tome III., pp. 28 *et seq.*: Paris, 1724. Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Tome I., pp. 146 *et seq.*: Paris, 1753. Among other writers are Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 196. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 69 and 169. Loskiel, p. 48. “They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years, &c.”: Heckwelder, p. 202: Philadelphia, 1876.

³ “Not but that young Indian corn, beaten to a Pulp will effect the same as the Brains”: Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 209: London, 1718.

⁴ “Both these shoes and stockings they make of their Deere skin worne out; which yet being excellently tann’d by them, is excellent for to travell in wet and snow; for it is so well tempered with oyle, that the water cleane wrings out; and being hang’d up in their chimney, they presently drie out without hurt, &c.”: Williams’s Key, in *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical*

“by some chemical process or other which I do not understand the skins acquire a quality which enables them, after being wet many times, to dry soft and pliant as they were before, which secret I have never yet seen practiced in my own country, and for the lack of which all of our dressed skins, when once wet are, I think, chiefly ruined.”¹

We are also told that the Indians knew how to curry skins on one side only, thus preserving the hair and rendering them warm and suitable for winter use. In this shape they were “as soft as velvet,”² and were not only made up into clothing but were also used as counterpanes and to sleep on. For this latter purpose they are said to have answered better than a mattress.³

Whether the Indians understood the art of dyeing is uncertain, though the Knight of Elvas seems to have had no doubt about the matter. In the account of De Soto's expedition for instance, he tells us that the skins are well curried and the Indians “give them what color they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloth in grain, and the black is most fine and of the same leather they make shoes; and they dye their mantles in the

Society, p. 107. “They make their shoes for common use, out of the skins of the bear and elk, well dressed and smoked to prevent hardening”: Adair, p. 8. In the *Jesuit Relation* for 1634, p. 48, we are told that their shoes “boivent l'eau comme une éponge, si bien que les sauvages ne s'en servent pas contre cet element, mais bien contre la neige et contre le froid”: Quebec, 1858. This latter statement may be very true and yet not affect the truth of what is here stated—for the question is not as to absorbing water but as to drying out.

¹ Smithsonian Report, 1889, p. 569: Washington, 1891.

² Adair, pp. 6, and 420. “They are sometimes covered with the skinned of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without”: Capt. Smith, p. 129. “Elles tiennent lieu aux Français des meilleures couvertures, étant tout à la fois très chaudes & très légères”: Du Pratz, II., p. 68. “Match coats made of deer's skin with the hair on”: Lawson, p. 22. “Sometimes they take off the hair”: *New England's Prospect*, p. 101. “Dressed with the hair on and lyned with other furred skinned”: Harriot, *Narrative*, Plate IX. Cf. *Jesuit Relation*, 1611, p. 9. Dumont, *Mémoires*, I., p. 147. Knight of Elvas, p. 181.

³ Dumont, *Mémoires*, I., p. 147: Paris, 1753.

same color.”¹ This statement is confirmed by Garcilaso, according to whom there was found, in the Temple of Talomeco, a number of packages of deer-skins, some of one color and some of another, without counting many robes with the hair dyed differently, and the clothes made of wildcat, martin and other skins as well dressed as if in the best shops of Germany or Russia.² Clear as are these statements, they are not, for several reasons, regarded as decisive; and hence I do not insist upon the point, though it may be observed in passing that there can be no question as to the elaborate character of the paintings and stainings with which the Indians decorated these robes and mantles.

Successful as they unquestionably were in the preparation of skins intended for use as clothing, it was not in this art that they achieved the best results. For this, we shall have to look to their textile work, and to that particular kind of textile work in which the feathers of highly colored birds—like the wild turkey and the scarlet flamingo—“are woven in a natural imbricated manner into blankets,” much as the hair is fastened by the wig-makers when making a wig.³ Indefinite as is this account, that

¹ Knight of Elvas, in Coll. Louisiana Hist. Soc., Part II., p. 138.

² Garcilaso de la Vega, *Histoire de la Floride*, I., p. 436: Paris, 1670.

³ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 500. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 113, 125.

“We have seen some use mantels made of Turkey feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome”: Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. “Ils vont tous couverts de peaux de Caribou, matachiées avec art, et enrichies de poil de porc-épie, ou de certaines de plumes teintes de toutes sortes de couleurs”: Jesuit Rel., 1670, p. 13. Cf. New England's Prospect, p. 108. Josse-lyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 298, 307, in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. III. of 3d Series. De Vries, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, Vol. III., part I., pp. 92, 105. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 202. Narrative, Father Douay, in *Erpl. Miss. Valley*, p. 203. Romans, *Florida*, p. 85. Dumont, I., p. 155. Speaking of two human bodies found in a cave in West Tennessee, Haywood (Hist. of Tenn., p. 164. Nashville, 1823), says: “Around the female . . . was placed a rug, very curiously wrought, of the bark of a tree and feathers. The bark seemed to have been formed of small strands, well twisted. Around each of these strands feathers were rolled, and the whole woven into a cloth of firm texture after the manner of our common coarse fabrics. This rug was about

of Adair is not much better. According to him, "they twist the inner end of the feathers very fast into a strong double thread of hemp, or the inner bark of the mulberry tree, of the size and strength of coarse twine, as the fibres are sufficiently fine, and they work it in the manner of fine netting."¹ From these blankets or "tapistrie,"² they made coats, or as we should call them shawls or capes; and long and tedious as must have been the process when followed through all its various ramifications, it seems to have been a case in which, according to Indian ideas, the end justified the means. At least this is the not unreasonable conclusion from the extravagant terms in which these articles are spoken of by the old writers; and it is borne out by the fact that they were in use from New England to Louisiana, and apparently from the earliest times. Thus, for example, Verrazzano,³ *circa* 1524, found the people in our South Atlantic States "clad with the feathers of fowles of divers colours"; and a hundred years and more later, Roger Williams⁴ tells us that the

three feet wide and between six and seven feet in length. The whole of the ligaments thus framed of bark, were completely covered by the feathers, forming a body of about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, the feathers extending about one-quarter of an inch in length from the strand to which they were confined. The appearance was highly diversified by green, blue, yellow and black, presenting different shades of color when reflected upon by the light in different positions, &c." Describing a similar find in a cave in Kentucky, Flint (*Travels*, p. 172, Boston, 1826), says: "Two splendid blankets, completely woven of the most beautiful feathers of the wild Turkey, arranged in regular stripes and compartments enclosed it. The cloth on which these feathers were woven, was a kind of linen of neat texture, of the same kind as that now woven from the fibres of the nettle." Cf. in regard to this mummy *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. I., and Prof. Putnam, in Reports of Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., for 1875, p. 50.

¹ Adair, *American Indians*, p. 423: London, 1775.

² "His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of divers colors the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the King took his rest was covered with white coverlettes embroydered with devices of very wittie and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of skarlet": Laudonnière in Hakluyt, II., p. 435: Edinburgh, 1889.

³ Hakluyt, *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 395; Edinburgh, 1889. See above, Knight of Elvas, pp. 137, 138, 144.

⁴ Collections Rhode Island Hist. Soc., Vol. I., p. 107: Providence, 1827.

Indians of Massachusetts made coats or mantles "of the fairest feathers of their turkies, which are with them as velvet with us." Farther to the South, in Virginia and the Carolinas, these coats are "extraordinary charming, containing several pretty Figures wrought in Feathers," making them seem like "a deepe purple satten," or "a fine Flower silk-shag";¹ and Cavelier, speaking of certain tribes in Texas, says "we there saw them make cloth with buffalo wool and a stuff which seemed to us the richest in the world, so singular was it, for it is made of bird's feathers and the hair of animals of every colour."² Another kind of material which calls for notice in this connection, was made of "the skin of a Mallard's head, which they sew perfectly well together with thread made of deer sinew divided very small, of silk grass,"³ or "of hemp and with needles made of fish bones or of the hornes and bones of deer rubbed sharp."⁴ When finished the short cloaks or capes made of this material "look very finely though they must needs be very troublesome to make."

In addition to these articles, the skins of rabbits, muskrats, and the inner bark of the mulberry tree⁵ were cut into strips and "woven" or "quilted" into a coarse material which was made up into cloaks and is said to have

¹ Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718. Strachey, *Virginia*, in Hakluyt Soc. Pub, p. 58: London, 1849.

² Cavelier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, pp. 32, 39. Cf. Gravier in same, p. 134: Albany, 1861.

³ Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718. ⁴ Adair, p. 6: London, 1775.

⁵ "Made of Hare, Raccoon, Bever or Squirrel skins, which are very warme": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191. "[The women have a dress of mulberry cloth which they spin like hemp and flax; it is a strong, thick cloth": Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 134. Du Pratz, II., p. 192. "They are dressed in white blankets made of the bark of a tree which they spin": Narrative of Father Membré in *Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 171. Harriot's *Narrative*, Plate V. and explanation: London, 1893. "Of the skin of hares by cutting it into narrow strips and weaving these into cloth of the shape of a blanket, and of a quality very warm and agreeable": Henry, *Travels*, p. 60: New York, 1809. Penicaut in *Margry*, V., p. 446.

been very warm. "The wool of the Buffalo," we are told, and we may add, "the hair of the bear, opossum, etc.," is spun as fine as that of the English sheep, or it may even be taken for silk, and is then manufactured into stuffs which are dyed black, yellow or a deep red, and of these stuffs "the Indians of the Illinois" make robes with threads of sinew. Their manner of making this thread is simple: after stripping the flesh from the sinew, they expose them to the sun for the space of two days; after they are dry, they beat them and then without difficulty they draw out a thread as fine as that of Mechlin but stronger.¹ A kind of wild hemp, which seems to have been very generally distributed,² was used in much the same way, though among the northern tribes, it was generally made into nets and seines, some of which were of great size.³ In preparing it, the hemp was steeped, peeled and beaten.⁴ It was then spun by the old

¹ Charlevoix, VI., p. 140. Marquette in *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 33: New York, 1852. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 22 and 188. Du Pratz II., p. 94. Romans, *Florida*, pp. 85, 96, 117. See Lafitau, III., p. 145, for account of plants from which thread was made.

² Cartier in Hakluyt, II., p. 109. Champlain, I., p. 106. Megapolensis, p. 158. Hariot, p. 14: London, 1893. Atwater's *Tour*, p. 135. Adair, p. 228. "Hemp growing wild, much finer than that of Canada": Membré, *Narrative*, p. 179. "font une sorte de fil de l'écorce du bois blanc": Lafitau, III., p. 145.

³ Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 90. De Vries in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, Vol. III., part I., p. 110. Jesuit Relations, 1642, p. 64, and 1636, page 109, &c., &c. "Their cordage is so even, soft, and smooth, that it looks more like silke than hempe; their sturgeon nets be not deepe, not above 30 or 40 foote long": *New England's Prospect*, p. 102. Cf. Cartier in *Hakluyt*, II., p. 94.

⁴ Adair, p. 422. "Mantles of the country which are like blankets; they make them of the inner rind of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grass like unto nettles, which being beaten is like unto flax": Knight of Elvas, in *Coll. Louisiana Hist. Soc.*, part II., pp. 138, 144, &c. "Made cloth of nettles, wild flax and the bark of trees, and who manufactured cloth of buffalo wool; that they give the finest colours in the world to all their fabrics": Cavelier in, Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 28. "Bag of Nettles prepared by rotting and dressing so that they resembled dressed hemp": Atwater's *Tour*, p. 135, Columbus, 1831. "Florida Indians near Okechobee . . . go naked, except women, who wear little aprons woven of shreds of Palms": Fontaneda, *Louisiana Hist. Coll.*, p. 250.

women "off the distaff, with wooden machines, having some clay on the middle of them to hasten the motion." This is Adair's account,¹ and we see no reason to doubt it, though among the Huron-Iroquois the method was far more primitive. This yarn he then says was woven into quilts and other stuffs, such as broad belts, sashes, garters, etc., in doing which they had to follow the methods of the South American Indians and "count the threads one by one, when they are passing the woof." We are assured that each of these webs was adapted to one certain use, without being cut, and that their patience was equal to so arduous a task.²

¹ *American Indians*, p. 422: London, 1775. *Per contra*, Dumont tells us, "Elles filent aussi sans rouët & sans quenouille du poil, ou plutôt de la laine de boeuf, dont elles font des jarretière & du ruban; & avec le fil qu'elles tirent de l'écorce du tilleul elles se font des espèces de mantes, qu'elles couvrent de plumes de cignes des plus fines attachés une à une sur cette toile; ouvrage long temps à la vérité": *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 154: Paris, 1753. "Elles ont l'invention de filer le chanvre sur leur cuisse, n'ayans pas l'usage de la quenouille et du fuseau, &c": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 90. "Betwixt their hands and thighs, the women use to spin, the barks of trees, Deere shews or a kind of grass . . . of these they make a thread very even and handily": Capt. Smith, p. 132.

² Adair, pp. 214, 422. He adds, time out of mind the Muskohge "passed the woof with a shuttle; and they have a couple of threddles, which they move with the hand . . . This is sufficiently confirmed by their method of working broad garters, sashes, shot-pouches, broad belts, and the like, which are decorated all over with beautiful stripes and chequers": London, 1775. "Lorsque l'écorce est en cet état elles la filent grosse comme du ligneul ou fil à coudre les souliers; elles cessent de filer, si-tôt qu'elles ont assez. Elles montent leur metier, qui consiste en deux piquets de quatre pieds hors de terre à la tête desquels traverse un gros fil sur lequel d'autres fils sont nouées doubles; enfin elles font un tissu croisé qui a tout autour une bordure en dessein: cette étoffe peut avoir au moins une aulne en quarré & une ligne d'épaisseur. Les mantes de fils d'écorce de murier sont tres-blanches & tres propres; elles s'attachent avec des cordons du même fil, lesquels ont un gland pendant à chaque bout": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 192. In Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 253, there is an account of a blind man weaving cloth out of buffalo wool, mixed with wolf hair. He was seated on a stool before a kind of frame over which were drawn coarse threads. He had already made about a quarter of a yard and said that it was the first he had ever attempted, and that it was in consequence of a dream in which he thought he had made a blanket like those of white people: Pittsburg, 1814. Cf. William H. Holmes, in *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology* for 1884-1885, p. 195, and 1891-1892, pp. 9, *et seq.* In these articles Mr. Holmes, among other things, gives an account of the way in which the feathers were woven into blankets, &c., &c. They should be consulted by any one interested in the Textile Art of the American Indians.

These in brief, were the materials from which the most of the articles that went to make up the Indian's wardrobe were manufactured; and few and simple as they were, it would be a mistake to suppose that they were the same everywhere and at all seasons, or that they were possessed by each and every member of every tribe. So far was this from being true, that the Indian, like ourselves, may be said to have regulated his clothing by the seasons, and the success of his hunts, or, as we might say, by the state of his finances. In Canada, for instance, the dress would probably differ in quality and certainly in amount from that worn in the Gulf States;¹ in each section, the summer costume, if that term could be applied to what consisted of a breech-cloth and nothing else, would not be the same as that used in winter,² and everywhere and at all times the skill and industry of his wife, or of some female relative, next to his own success in the chase, would determine the quantity and quality of his wearing apparel.³ Moreover, it was only on special occasions that he was expected to appear decked out in all his finery. At other times he was content to dress in plain attire; and it is a

¹ "The dresses of these people are so different, according to the Nation that they belong to, that it is impossible to recount all the whimsical figures that they sometimes make by their Antick Dresses. Besides Carolina is a warm country, and very mild in its Winters, to what Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, the Jerseys and New England are; wherefore our Indians Habit very much differs from the dresses that appear amongst the savages who inhabit those cold countries": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192: London, 1718. Cf. Lescarbot, III., p. 784. "Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs": Heckwelder, p. 205. Cf. Loskiel, p. 48. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 197. Champlain, I., p. 378. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 231. Charlevoix, VI., p. 39. Bartram, p. 502.

² See Note 2, p. 381.

³ In Jesuit Relations for 1633, pp. 11 and 12, it is stated that "les femmes seavent ce qu'elles doivent faire, et les hommes aussi: et jamais l'un ne se mesle du metier de l'autre: . . . les hommes vont à la chasse et tuent les animaux, les femmes les vont querir, les écorchent et passent les peaux. . . . Ce sont les femmes qui sont consturieres et cordonnières." Cf. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 91. On this subject see *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, by Otis T. Mason, Chap. III.: New York, 1894.

curious commentary upon certain tribal customs that, not unfrequently, a leading chief, owing to the demands upon him for assistance and the necessity of keeping up his reputation for liberality, was among the poorer and consequently worse dressed men of the tribe.¹

But whilst recognizing these differences and mindful of the coloring which they gave to some of the early records, it seems well, at this time, to call attention to the fact that the only article in the Indian's wardrobe that was justly termed "a necessity," was the breech-cloth. His other garments were laid aside whenever it suited his comfort or convenience, and without any shock to his sense of modesty; but this particular one was seldom if ever left off, even in the wigwam and during the heat of summer. Originally, it was made of skin, a foot wide and three or four long, which was passed between the thighs and then carried up under a belt of sinew, snake skin or some other material, worn around the waist, from which the two ends hung down a foot or more—the one in front "with a flap, the other like a taile behinde."² Except, perhaps, among

¹ "A l'un il donne une couverture, à l'autre une robe de castor, à celui-ci un calumet, à ces autres un sac de bled d'Inde, aux pauvres femmes quelques peaux de castors pour se faire des robes. . . . et puis les congédia avec ces trois mots: Tandis que je vivrai, Je vous assisterai et vous aiderai de tout mon pouvoir. Voilà les revenus des charges des Seigneurs et des principautez des Sauvages": *Jesuit Relations*, 1644, p. 67. "The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob": *Megapolensis*, l. c., p. 160. "The chiefs and candidates for public preferment render themselves popular by their disinterestedness and poverty. Whenever any extraordinary success attends them in the acquisition of property, it is only for the benefit of their most meritorious adherents: for they distribute it with a profuse liberality, and pride themselves in being estimated the poorest men in the community": *Hunter, Narrative*, p. 317. *Cf.* *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society at the meeting April 24, 1895*, pp. 189, 190.

² "Le brayer est le seul nécessaire & qu'ils ne quittent point. Ils se dépouillent aisément de tous les autres quand ils sont dans leurs cabanes, ou qu'ils en sont gênés sans crainte de blesser la modestie. Ce brayer . . . est . . . une peau large d'un pied et long de trois ou quatre. Ils la font passer entre les cuisses, & elle se replie dans une petite corde de boyau qui les ceint sur les hanches, d'où elle retombe par devant & par derrière, de la longueur d'un

the Carolina Indians this article was not worn by the women, though it was in use everywhere, throughout this entire region, by the men;¹ and what gives it something of a distinctive character is the fact that, for a good part of the year, it was the only thing worn—"all else being naked."² Thus we find that Champlain,³ who sailed along the New England coast *circa* 1605 and whose account of what he saw is one of the earliest and best that we have, tells us that the Indians between Chaouacoet and Cape Mallebarre "seldom wear either robes or furs, and there are robes made of grass and hemp which extend only to the thigh and do not cover the body. The men conceal their privates with a small skin, and the women do the same, only in the latter case it is longer behind, all the rest of the body being naked. When the women come to see us they wear robes open in front." Elsewhere, in this same neighborhood, he

pied on environ": Lafitau, III., p. 25. "... a pair of Indian breeches to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is but a piece of cloth a yard and a half long, put between their groinings, tied with a snake's skin about their middles, one end hanging down with a flap before, the other like a taile behinde" *New England's Prospect*, p. 72. Cf. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 297, in Mass. Hist. Coll. "They hange before them the skin of some beaste verve feynelye dresset in such sorte, that the taylor hangeth down behynde": Harriot, plate III.: London, 1593.

¹ Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 190. He gives some particulars as to the way it was made, that show he must have seen it in use. Compare Plate VIII., in *First Plantation of Virginia*.

² Speaking of the dress of the men, Lawson, p. 191, says, "betwixt their legs comes a Piece of Cloth, that is tuck'd in by a Belt both before and behind. This is to hide their nakedness, of which Decency they are very strict Observers, although never practised before the Christians came amongst them." Compare Champlain, I., p. 167. Harriot, p. 36.

³ *Voyages*, I., pp. 94, 112, 119, and 378: Paris, 1830. "They are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame": Plaine Dealing, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., of 3d Series, p. 102. "... when although they have a Beast's skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all their foreparts from top to toe (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron after the pattern of their and our first parents) I say all else open and naked. . . . their men often abroad and both men and women within doors leave off their beasts skin . . . and so (excepting their little apron) are wholly naked": Williams's Key, in R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 106. Cf. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 297, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., of 3d Series.

speaks of "five or six hundred savages who are naked except their private parts which are covered with a small fawn or seal skin. The women, also, cover their privates with skins or leaves, but both sexes paint and arrange their hair" with feathers, etc., "like the Indians seen at Chaouacoet" or Saco. In New York, we are told that "in summer the Indians go naked, having their private parts covered with a patch."¹ Beverly² makes the same statement with regard to the Indians of Virginia, though he limits it, as does Capt. Smith,³ to the "common people." In Carolina, as we have seen, the same method of dressing prevailed; and farther to the south—in Florida and along the Gulf coast—the testimony of the early writers upon this point is so uniform, that to enumerate them would be to call the roll of all who have written on the subject, and we content ourselves with the verdict of one, who speaking from a thorough knowledge of the customs of the Southern Indians tells us that "with the exception of these breech clouts, the Florida Indians most of the year, appeared in a state of nudity."⁴ The cold of winter, he adds, "necessitated the use of shawls and blankets" as it did with the tribes that lived in the north.

But whilst the breech-cloth, except in the case noted above, was not worn by the Indian women, yet a petticoat was; and of the two garments it is said to have been the more modest. As used in the north by the Huron-Iroquois tribes, it was made of skins, wrapped around the body and fastened at the waist by a belt. It ended above the knee, and was made thus short in order not to be in the way of

¹ Megapolensis, p. 154, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. III., 2d Series, Part 1.

² *Virginie*, p. 228: Amsterdam, 1707.

³ "But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakedness, but with grasse, the leaves of trees or such like": *Virginia*: Richmond, 1819.

⁴ Charles C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 74: New York, 1873. "The men have their secrets hid with a deer's skin made like a liuen breech, which was wont to be used in Spain": *Knight of Elvas*, p. 138.

the wearers when at work in the field.¹ The Southern Indians, as also those along the north Atlantic coast, made use of a similar garment, which, like the breech-cloth, was seldom laid aside. In making it, however, they did not limit themselves to skins, but they employed the bark of several kinds of trees, notably the mulberry, either woven into a coarse cloth or simply cut into a fringe.² "Leaves that hang on boughs of trees which they sewe together with threads of wild hempo" were used in much the same way,³ as was a material woven from grass or hemp which was not unlike the 'fly-nets' with which we protect our horses."⁴ Among the New England Indians a piece of matting was sometimes carelessly thrown over the back, though the secret parts were concealed.⁵

Among the other articles that were in general, though not perhaps in such steady use, were leggins, moccasins, a sort of shirt or jacket without arms, and a robe that was sometimes made of the skin of a bear, moose, or other large

¹ Lafitau, III., pp. 25 and 26: Paris, 1724. "The women's dress consists only of a broad softened skin, or several small skins sewed together, which they wrap and tye round their waist, reaching a little below their knees: in cold weather they wrap themselves in the softened skins of buffalo calves, with the wintry shagged wool inward": Adair, p. 7. "Sometimes it is a deer-skin dress'd white, and pointed or slit at the bottom like fringe": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 190. Cf. Harriot, Plates IV., VI., VIII., X.: London, 1893. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 191.

² Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 192, 193. "The women have a dress of Mulberry cloth, which they spin like hemp and flax. It is a strong thick cloth. Their petticoat is very decent, from the waist to below the knees; there is a fringe very well worked, as well as their mantle, either all uniform or worked in lozenges or in squares or in ermine, which they wear usually as a sash, and rarely on the two shoulders": Gravier, p. 134. "Women and girls are like the Illinois half naked; they have a skin hanging down from the waist and reaching to the knees, some have a small deer skin like a scarf": Father St. Cosme, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 73.

³ Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 394. "... go naked except women alone who cover parts of their persons with a wool that grows on trees": Cabeça de Vaca, p. 82. Cf. De Bry, *Brevis Narratio*, Plates 20, 21, 34, &c., &c. Gravier, p. 152, "have no manner of Cloaths, save a Wad of Moss to hide their nakedness": Lawson, p. 203. Cf. Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 2d Series, p. 237, Pub. 1875.

⁴ Dumont, I., p. 133: Paris, 1753.

⁵ Lesearbot, III., p. 678: Paris, 1866.

animal, or of the skins of smaller animals sewn together.¹ Taking up these articles in their order, we find that leggins were made of skins, curried on one or both sides, and were worn with the fur turned inward or outward according to the weather, or perhaps in some cases to the occupation, for the time being, of the wearer.² They were used by both sexes, the only difference being in the length. Those intended for the men were cut to fit the leg and extended from the ankle to the hip, where they ended in a sort of point which was fastened to the belt they wore around the waist. The seam was on the outside and not on both as is the case with the legs of our trousers; and the edges of the skin were often left to project three or four inches beyond the seam so as to be cut into strips and made into a fringe. The woman's leggins differed from these in being shorter. They came no higher than the knee, and instead of being attached to the belt were fastened by garters, which were often embroidered with porcupine quills.³

Moccasins, too, were in general use, though they were not habitually worn by the Southern Indians except when

¹ "Leurs robes sont faictes de peaux d' Elans, d' Ours, et d' autres animaux. Les plus riches en leur estime sont faictes des peaux d' une espèce de petit animal noir, qui se trouve aux Hurons; il est de la grandeur d' un Lapin, le poil est doux et luisant, il entre bien une soixantaine de ces peaux dans une robe; ils attachent les queues de ces animaux aux bas, pour servir de franges, et les testes au haut pour servir d' une espèce de rebord. La figure de leur robe est quasi quarrée; les femmes le peignent, tiraus des raies du haut en bas; ces raies sont également distantes et larges environ de deux poudes: vous diriez du passement": Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47. Among Southern Indians these robes or blankets were sometimes made of Mulberry cloth, as we shall see later on.

² "The men wear for ornament, and the convenience of hunting, their deer-skin boots, well smoked, that reach so high up their thighs, as with their jackets to secure them from the brambles and braky thickets": Adair, *Indians*, p. 7: London, 1775.

³ Upon the subject of leggins, consult Lafitau, III., p. 26. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 196. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 231. Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47. "In the winter time the more aged of them weare leather drawers, in forme like Irish trouses, fastened under their girdle with buttons": *New England's Prospect*, p. 73.

travelling.¹ They are said to have been the same for both sexes, and possibly this may also have been the case with those used by different tribes. At least, there is no mention of any difference in the early writers, though in recent times the differences in this respect are known to be of such a character that it is possible, within certain limits, to say to what tribe an Indian belongs by the way his moccasins are made.² However, this is not a point upon which it is necessary to enlarge. All that it concerns us to know, is that in the earliest times his "shoes," or moccasins were made of the skins of different animals, such as the moose, deer, bear or buffalo, etc., prepared in such a way as to "endure water or dirt without growing hard."³ In cutting them out, the skin was left three or four inches longer than the foot, and this extra piece was doubled back and gathered on top, something like a purse, by a running cord or strap which was tied around the ankle. There was neither heel nor sole to the moccasin, though the bottom was often made thicker and more durable by the addition of an extra piece of skin. The quarters, especially in winter and as a protection against cold and snow, were sometimes left nine inches long and were then wrapped around the leg, outside of the leggins, and laced, or fastened somewhat as the Roman soldiers did their sandals.⁴ To the same end the Canadian Indians used a kind

¹ "Il est rare que les hommes ou les femmes portent des souliers si ce n'est en voyage": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, p. 194: Paris, 1758.

² In *Indian Sign Language*, pp. 257 *et seq.*, Capt. W. P. Clark, U. S. A., gives an account of many of these differences. The extract is too long for insertion here even if it were strictly germane to my subject.

³ "They wear shooes, of Buckes, and sometimes Bears skin, which they tan in an Hour or two; with the Bark of Trees boil'd, wherein they put the Leather whilst hot, and let it remain a little while, whereby it becomes so qualify'd, as to endure water and dirt without growing hard": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718.

⁴ This account is made up from Lafitau, III., pp. 26 and 27. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, p. 195. Adair, p. 8, says, "they make their shoes for common use out of the skins of the bear and elk, well dressed and smoked, to prevent hardening; and those for ornament, out of deer-skins, done

of overshoe, or rather they wrapped their feet in rabbit skin or some other covering, doubled two or three times, to which they added moose hair. The shoes or moccasins,—sometimes two pairs, one outside of the other,—were then put on, and were caught and tied on the instep by a cord which ran around the top. During winter and whilst the snow lasted, the French as well as the Indians wore these moccasins, so as to be able to walk on snow-shoes; but with the return of Spring, “we again took our French shoes, and they went barefoot.”

Besides “stockings and shoes of deer skin” there was another kind of “shoe” made of “the leaves of their corn plaited together,” which the Mohawks, *circa* 1650, are said to have worn.¹ I do not recall any account of the use of similar shoes elsewhere, though the discovery in a cave in Kentucky of a number of “cast off sandals, . . . neatly made of finely braided and twisted leaves of rushes,”² would seem to point in this direction. At all events, the bark cloth and other articles found with these sandals were of the same character as those made and used some two hundred years ago by the southern Indians; and assuming, as it is fair to do, that there was the relation of product and

in like manner: but they chiefly go bare-footed, and always bare-headed”: London, 1775. Lescarbot, p. 678, speaking of the “*Mekezin*” says, “ils ne peuvent pas long temps durer, principalement quand ils vont en lieux humides: d’ autant que le cuir n’ est pas couroyé ni endurei, ains seulement faconné en manière de buffle, qui est cuir d’ ellan”: Paris, 1866. Cf. Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 48; 1633, p. 10; 1658, p. 31.

¹ Megapolensis, *A Short Sketch of the Mohawk Indians*, p. 154: New York Hist. Soc. Collections.

² Reports of Peabody Museum, Cambridge, 1875, p. 49, Prof. Putnam adds, “A number of other articles were collected here, and were as follows: a small bunch of the inner bark of some tree, evidently prepared for use in the manufacture of an article of dress; several small lots of bark not quite so fine as that composing the bunch; a piece of finely woven cloth of bark, over a foot square, showing black stripes across it where it had been dyed, and also specially interesting in exhibiting the care which has been taken in darning, or mending a portion of it; a small piece of firmly made fringe or tassel discovered in one of the places where the earth had been disturbed,” &c. Cf. Thirteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 35.

producer between these articles and the Indians of that date, there is nothing forced or improbable in the inference that the "sandals" or slippers or "shoes" were worn by these same Indians or a people in the same grade of civilization.

In regard to the shirt, tunic, jacket, or by whatever name the garment was called, our accounts are clear and explicit. Among the Huron-Iroquois and generally in Canada, it consisted of two deer-skins curried thin and light and without the hair. It was fastened on the shoulders and hung half way down the leg. Around the bottom and arm holes it was cut into strips like fringe. A similar article was worn by the women and is said to have been very modest. It hung down to the knees and was fastened around the waist by a cord. All the rest of the body, including head, arms and legs, was naked.¹ Sometimes the arms were covered by sleeves which were large enough at the top to cover the shoulders and were fastened together both before and behind with a strap or cord.² According to Lafitau this tunic was peculiar to the Huron-Iroquois, though in a slightly different form it was worn by the Algonkins; and being the least necessary of any of their articles of wearing apparel, it was often left off, especially by the men. South of the Appalachians, the Indians "formerly wore skirts, made of drest deer-skins, for their summer visiting dress; but their winter hunting clothes were long and shaggy, made of the skins of panthers, bucks, bears, beavers and others; the fleshy sides outward, sometimes doubled, and always softened like velvet-cloth, though they retained their fur and hair." This is Adair's account,³ and in the main it is confirmed by Le Page du Pratz, who adds that in cold weather the women wear a second skin or

¹ Lafitau, III., pp. 25, 26.

² *Jesuit Relations*, 1634, p. 47: Quebec, 1858.

³ *American Indians*, p. 6: London, 1775. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 196: Paris, 1758.

cloak, the middle of which is passed under the right arm, and the two ends are fastened over the left shoulder so that the arms are at liberty, and only one of the breasts is exposed. Bartram, too, speaks of the "skirt" worn by the men, and the "little short waistcoat"¹ in which the women indulged, though in his time they were made of material bought from the whites. The skirt, we are told, hangs loose about the waist, like a frock, or split down before, resembling a gown, and is sometimes wrapped close, and the waist incircled by a curious belt or sash. The women on the other hand "have no skirt or shift, but a little short waistcoat, usually made of callico, printed linen or fine cloth, decorated with beads, lace, etc." This account is of interest, showing as it does a high order of dress; and it is possible that the pattern of these garments may have been original with the Indian, though on this point there is room for doubt. The likeness to the hunting shirt, which I am disposed to think came in with the whites, is suspicious; and the fact that on the sketches left by the artists that accompanied Hariot to Virginia and Ribault to Florida, there is nothing that resembles either of the articles here described, would seem to indicate that they mark a transition period, as did the dress worn by King Philip, which is said to have been worth twenty pounds sterling.²

But even if the Indians along the Atlantic coast did not wear the skirt, tunic or waistcoat of dressed deer-skin, they had the Match coat, which may be said to have taken its place. From the somewhat confused accounts of it that have come down to us, it seems to have been a mantle or cape rather than a coat, "just large enough to cover the shoulders and breast,"³ and was made sometimes of "fine

¹ *Travels*, p. 501: Dublin, 1793.

² "Prince Philip . . . had a coat on and Buskins set thick with these beads in pleasant wild works, and a broad Belt of the same, his Accoutrements were valued at Twenty pounds": Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 307, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. III., Series 3.

³ Bartram, p. 500: Dublin, 1793.

hares skinned quilted with the hairy outward—the rest of the body being naked,”¹ at others of the feathers of the wild turkey, the flamingo or some gay colored bird “quilted artificially.” Along the Gulf coast a similar article was in use as early as in the time of De Soto. Besides those made of “feathers, white, green, red, and yellow, very fine after their use, and profitable for winter,” there were others of “yarn made of the barks of trees, or of a kind of grass like unto nettles, which being beaten is like unto flax. The women cover themselves with these mantles; they put one about them from the waist downward and another over their shoulder with the right arm out, like unto the Egyptians. The men wear but one mantle upon their shoulders after the same manner.”²

Over all these different articles was the robe, which was made of the skin of one large animal, or of a number of smaller animals sewn together.³ It was usually about six feet broad by nine long, and the skin whereof it was made was dressed sometimes on both sides, though generally at the north, and in winter time everywhere, the hair was left on. It was fringed both at the top and bottom, that at the top being somewhat shorter. When made of the skins of

¹ Harriot's *Narrative*, Plate V.: London, 1893. “Some are made of Hare, Raccoon, Beaver or Squirrel-skins, which are very warm. Others again are made of the green part of a Mallard's Head, which they sew perfectly well together”: Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191.

² *Knight of Elvas* in Coll. Louisiana Hist. Soc., pp. 137, 138, 144: Philadelphia, 1850. Cf. Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., First Series, p. 152.

³ “Many of them wear skinned about them in form of an Irish mantle, and of these some be Beavers skinned, Mooses skinned, and Beaver skinned sewed together, other skinned, and Raccoon skinned; most of them in the winter having his deep fur'd Cat skinned, like a long large muffle, which he shifts to that arm which lieth most exposed to the wind”: *New England's Prospect*, p. 73. Compare Lafitau, III., p. 27, and note above. “Ils ont une robe de mesme fourrure, en forme de couverture qu'ils portent à la façon Irlandaise, ou Egyptienne, et des manches qui s'attachent avec un cordon par le derrière”: Champlain, I., p. 378. “Car ils sont habillez de bonnes fourrures, comme de peaux d'eslan, loutres castors, ours, loups marins, et cerfs et biches, qu'ils ont en quantité”: *Ib.* I., p. 167: Paris, 1830.

the black squirrel, as many as sixty were sometimes necessary, and then the tails were used as fringe around the bottom, whilst the heads were arranged at the top in a sort of border. Among the northern tribes these robes were worn by the men in two ways. In warm weather they were not made to cover the entire body, but were carried over one arm and under the other, or were merely thrown over the shoulders and held in place by cords fastened above the breast; whilst in winter time both women and men carried them over one shoulder and under the other, wrapping themselves up in a comfortable but somewhat slovenly manner. They were tied under the breast and at the belt, and the intervening part was pulled out and looked like an enormous pouch which served them instead of a pocket for holding their little belongings.¹

To the southward, along the Atlantic coast, a similar robe was worn; though owing perhaps to the scarcity of large animals it was generally made of smaller skins, "as many as may be necessary, which they sew together, carefully setting all the hair and fur the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside." This is Heckwelder's account;² and whilst relatively speaking, he is of recent date, yet he is in accord with Harriot³ and Laudonnière, who precede him by some two hundred years. Capt. Smith⁴ adds a few

¹ For this account see Lafitau, III., p. 27, and Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47, and 1658, p. 30.

² *History of the Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations, &c.*, p. 202: Philadelphia, 1876.

³ "The aged men . . . are covered with a large skinne which is tyed upon their shoulders on one side and hangeth downe beneath their knees wearinge their other arme naked out of the skinne. . . . Those skynnes are Dressed with the hair on, and lyned with other furred skynnes": Harriot, *First Plantation in Virginia*, Plate IX.: London, 1893. Cf. Plate in *Brevis Narratio*.

⁴ *Virginia*, p. 139: Richmond, 1819. "Paint calumets, birds and animals on them." Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, p. 261.

particulars, as e. g. "That these skins in winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without." They are said to have been used by the better sort and "did not differ much in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some were embroidered with white beads, some with copper, others painted after their manner."

In the Gulf States, robes similarly prepared were in use. When made of buffalo hide, one was sufficient, but when beaver skins were used, as they were in the regions where these animals abounded, six were required to make a robe. In summer, according to Du Pratz,¹ the men and women cover themselves with one deer-skin dressed white. Sometimes "it is stained black, and there are others on which are painted designs in different colors, as in red, or yellow with black stripes." In addition to these fur or skin robes, these Indians, and more especially those along the lower Mississippi, made more or less use of mantles or "blankets" of mulberry cloth.² On one occasion Tonti reports that he saw the chief of the Tensas "with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than sixty old men clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked." The women, we are told, were clothed in the same manner. In preparing the material of which these cloaks or blankets were made, the bark of the young shoots of the mulberry was dried in the sun and beaten until the woody part fell away. It was then beaten again and bleached by exposure to the dew. In this shape it was spun into threads of the size of those used by shoemakers and woven into cloth which is "very white and handsome."³

Of the sashes, belts, garters, &c., it is unnecessary to speak in detail as, except in the materials of which they were made and in the methods of ornamentation, they were

¹ *Histoire de Louisiane*, II., p. 197: Paris, 1758.

² Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, Part I., p. 61: New York, 1846.

³ Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 192: Paris, 1758.

the same everywhere. In the far north they were usually of skin,¹ more or less ornamented, though Sagard² tells us of some that were made of "porcupine quills, dyed scarlet and neatly woven." Along the New England coast they were sometimes made of "blew and white beads, worked out of certain shells, so cunning that neither Jew nor Devil can counterfeit."³ In the west they were looked upon as "rareties," and were made of "the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow and gray."⁴ Farther to the south "Buffalo wool" and the hair of animals were also used. Speaking of the former, Adair⁵ tells us that "having spun it as fine as they can and properly doubled it "the Indians" put small beads of different colors upon the yarn as they work it. The figures they work in those small webs are generally uniform, but sometimes they diversify them on both sides. "The Choktah," he adds, "weave shot-pouches, which have raised work inside and outside." Wild hemp was similarly spun and woven into "broad garters, sashes, belts, shot pouches and the like which are decorated all over with beautiful stripes and checquers."⁶ Elsewhere in this same region the mantle or cloak of mulberry cloth was worked "either all uniform or in lozenges or in squares or in ermine" and was usually

¹ Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 47; 1632, p. 4; and 1636, p. 38, where the Savage is said to have been "paré d'une belle ceinture" which, according to his account, was given to him by the Manitou and would insure him a long life.

² *Voyages des Hurons*, p. 134: Paris, 1865.

³ Josselyn in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III. of 3d Series, p. 306. Cf. *Newes from New England*, p. 103, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections.

⁴ Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 25. On p. 33, we are told "the chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by their wearing a scarf ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen": New York: 1852. "Elles tricotent des ceintures & des-jarretieres avec de la laine de Boeuf": Charlevoix, VI., p. 49. Cf. Marest, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, where we are told that buffalo wool "answers the purpose to our Indians of that they would procure from sheep if they had them in this country."

⁵ *History of the American Indians*, p. 423: London, 1775. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 116.

⁶ Adair, pp. 422, 170. Cf. Loskiel, p. 51.

worn as a sash and rarely over the two shoulders.¹

This completes our account of the ordinary wearing apparel of those of our Indians that came within the scope of this investigation. Before, however, leaving this branch of our subject, it may be well to notice briefly some of their methods of ornamenting the skins and other articles of which they made their clothing. Without going into details, and avoiding as far as possible everything like repetition, it may be said that whilst the Indians made a free use of shell beads² and porcupine quills³ in adorning some of their garments, yet so far as the robe was concerned, it was by means of paints and dyes that they sought to give expression to their ideas of beauty. Thus we find that they not only stained their skins red or black or yellow,⁴ but they also painted them very prettily in stripes of different colors, something like lace or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, braided work.⁵ Sometimes they are said to have painted both sides of the "carpet" with the image of those birds and beasts they are acquainted with, and at others they represent "themselves acting in their social and martial stations,"⁶ thus

¹ Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, pp. 134, 144: Albany, 1861.

² Beverly, *Virginie*, Plates III., V., VI.: Amsterdam, 1707. Cf. *New England's Prospect*, p. 69: Boston, 1865. Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 49. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 193, 194. Adair, p. 110. Williams's *Key. loc. cit.*, p. 131. Ruttinber, p. 21: Albany, 1872.

³ "divers ouvrages de plumasserie, ou travaillés en poil . . . de Pore-épy, dont chacun sçait se faire une parure selon son goût": Lalitau, III., p. 54.

⁴ Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 19. Cf. Dumont, *Memoirs Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I. p. 147. "Elles couroyent et adouciissent les peaux des castors et d'eslans, et autres, ausi bien que nous saurions faire ici, de quoy elles font leur manteaux ou couvertures, et y peignent des passemens et bigarrures qui ont fort bonne grace." Sagard, p. 91: Paris, 1865.

⁵ Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 9; and 1634, p. 47: Quebec, 1858. "Their ga'a dresses bear two painted suns": Douay, in *Disc. and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 217. Cf. Champlain, I., 379. Lalitau, III., pp. 30, et seq. for a full account of their methods of procedure.

⁶ Adair, *History of the American Indians*, pp. 422, 31 and 79. Upon this point Cf. Long, *Travels*, I., p. 440, Catlin, *American Indians*, I., p. 148: London, 1841, and the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology *passim*.

giving to the sketch a certain biographical importance. These pictographs are said to have possessed "that due proportion, and so much wild variety in the design that would really strike a curious eye with pleasure and admiration";¹ and Landonnière tells us that among the presents made to Ribault was "a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of divers wilde beasts, so lively drawen and pourtrayed that nothing lacked but life." In the same vein, he speaks of a "great Hart's skinne dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colors, but of so lively a pourtrature, and representing antiquity with rules so justly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith, &c."² Exaggerated as is this account it is equalled by Father Marquette, who, speaking of the famous picture of the Piasa executed "in green, red, and a kind of black," high up on a rocky bluff of the Mississippi, tells us that "these monsters are so well painted, that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do as well."³

Of their shell beads and shell work generally, we shall have something to say later on. For the present, we content ourselves with calling attention to their use of porcupine quills for purposes of embroidery, and to their custom of fastening "fawns trotters, wild turkey-cock spurs,"⁴ etc., to the fringed borders of their leggins and tunics in such a way as to make a rattling sound as they walked along. Speaking of this latter mode of decorating their garments, Romans⁵ tells us that so "extravagant" were their methods that, on one occasion, among the Creeks,

¹ Adair, p. 422. Father Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 144.

² *Early Voyages to America*, pp. 418, 435, 447: Edinburgh, 1889.

³ Marquette, p. 39.

⁴ Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 7, 84, 170, etc. Dumont, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 138: Paris, 1753. Heckwelder, p. 205.

⁵ *East and West Florida*, I., p. 95.

he saw nine women on whose dresses were the hoofs of over 1,100 deer. In regard to their use of porcupine quills as a means of ornamentation, it is difficult to speak with moderation. It was a distinctly "American art,"¹ and so far as mere beauty was concerned it was one in which they achieved a decided success. Specimens of their work were taken to Europe, where they are said to have excited no little curiosity. Du Pratz's account of the way in which they did this embroidery is the best that we have, though singularly enough, the animal itself was relatively scarce along the lower Mississippi where he lived. According to him, the Indians split the quills to the requisite degree of fineness and then dye them red and yellow. As they are naturally white and black, this gives four colors with which to work out their designs. These we are told are very similar to some of those found in gothic architecture, being composed of straight lines, which form right angles at the point of conjunction. As a rule the ground for this embroidery was a skin stained black, though the same figures were worked on the mantles and coverings of mulberry bark.²

The paints which they used in carrying out these various processes were of two kinds, mineral and vegetable.³

¹ Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 315: London, 1860.

² *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 99, 184: Paris, 1758. "Au Port Royal et es environs, et vers la Terre-Neuve et à Tadoussac . . . les femmes et filles font des *Matachiaz* avec des arrêtes ou aiguillons de Pore-epic, lesquelles elles teignent de couleurs noire, blanche et vermeille, aussi vives qu'il est possible: car nôtre ecarlate n' a point plus de lustre que leur teinture rouge": Lescaubot, III., pp. 708 and 758: Paris, 1866. "Elles font aussi . . . ou sae à petun sur lesquels elles font des onvrages dignes d' admiration, avec du poil de pore-espice, coloré de rouge, noir, blanc et bleu qui sont les couleurs qu' elles font si vives, que les notres ne semblent point en approcher": Sagard, I., p. 91. "Nos Montagnets et Algonmequins . . . mettent à leurs robes des bandes de poil de pore-espice, qu' ils teignent en fort belle couleur d' escarlate. Ils tiennent ces bandes bien chères entre eux, et les detachent pour les faire servir à d' autres robes, quand ils eu veulent changer": Champlain, I., p. 379. Cf. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 307.

³ Ils la trouvent sur les bords de quelques Laes ou Rivières. Ils y employent aussi les sucs & les cendres de quelques plantes": Lafitau, III., pp. 31,

Among the former, were the different colored earths which were very generally distributed over the country. To fit them for use, they were mixed with sizing obtained from skins,¹ with the oil of sunflower seed, the fat of bears or other animals,² or possibly in some cases with water. Charcoal, red lead and lead ore were also used for coloring purposes,³ as was a sort of *Minium* or cinnabar, which they extracted from a bright red earth, though the color was not as deep as our vermilion.⁴ Among the Illinois Indians, and in Ohio and Delaware, ochres were found in quantities; and on the Mississippi, near where the town of Columbus, Ky., now stands, there was a kind "of unctuous earth of three colors, purple, violet and red, which turned the water in which it was washed blood red." There is also, so we are told, "a very heavy red sand," some of which Father Marquette "put on a paddle, and it took the color so well, that the water did not efface it for fifteen days" that he used it in rowing.⁵ Of the vegetable

145. "Les couleurs . . . se tirent de certaines terres & de quelques ecorces d'arbres. Elles ne sont pas bien vives, mais elles ne s'effacent pas aisément": Charlevoix, VI., p. 42: Paris, 1744. "Painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed": Adair, p. 31: London, 1775. Loskiel, p. 49. Williams's Key, p. 154. Stoddard, *Louisiana*, p. 393. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

¹ "C'est sur ces peaux ainsi passées qu'ils mattachent ou peignent des figures de toute e-pece dont ils tracent le dessein selon leur idée, employant à ces peintures du rouge, du jaune, du noir, du verd & du bleu, sans se servir d'huile pour delayer ces couleurs, mais seulement de la cole qu'ils tirent de ces mêmes peaux": Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 147: Paris, 1753.

² Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 379: Paris, 1830. In Dunbar, *Sketch of the Pawnees*, Section 15, we are told that paints used on the body are mixed with buffalo tallow; when on robes, with water.

³ Marquette, p. 33. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 51, 192. Adair, p. 389: *News from New England*, in Vol. III., 3d Series, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 103. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 338.

⁴ Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amérigains*, III., p. 31: Paris, 1724.

⁵ Father Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, pp. 19, 33, 42: New York, 1852. Cf. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 53. Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Chapter VIII. Loskiel, p. 49.

dyes, there seems to have been a good supply. In Virginia, for example, there was the "Shoemake well known and used in England for blacke,"¹ though in Massachusetts we are told that the "bark or berries is as good as galls to make ink of but that the root dyeth wool or cloth reddish," to say nothing of the numerous medicinal properties which the plant is said to have possessed.² Continuing Hariot's list, we find that "the seed of a herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge are for divers sorts of reds,"³ as were the roots of the *Pocones* and the *Musquaspen*,⁴ and if we may credit Roger Williams, the "Barke of the Pine."⁵ All these materials were "for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinner; and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works with all in their mats and baskets, having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for."⁶ Among the Southern Indians a yellow was obtained by boiling the *Bois Ayac* or Stinking wood, cut up into small pieces and mashed. Feathers and skins steeped in this liquid took on a yellow or beautiful lemon color, which was not in much request among them. To obviate this, these same articles were then soaked in water in which the roots of the *Achetchy* had been boiled. Submitted to this double process they assumed different colors. Those, for example, that were white before being dyed yellow, became a beautiful crimson; and those, like

¹ Hariot, in *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 334: Edinburgh, 1889.

² Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in Vol. III., Series 3, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 258.

³ *Early Voyages to America*, p. 334.

⁴ Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 123: Richmond, 1819.

⁵ "Their red painting which they most delight in, and is both the Barke of the Pine as also a red earth": Williams's Key, p. 154. They also used "black earth," p. 154. and on p. 107 we are told that "they also paint these Moose and Deere skins for their summer wearing with varietie of formes and colours."

⁶ Hariot, p. 334, in *Early Voyages*: Edinburgh, 1889.

buffalo hair, that were brown or chestnut, became dark red.¹

In more recent times, thanks to better preparation on the part of investigators, our knowledge of these aboriginal dyes has been largely increased. This is especially noticeable in a paper read, October 4, 1782, before the American Philosophical Society by Mr. Hugh Martin.² According to him, the Shawnees obtained a vegetable red from the root of a plant that grew in low swampy grounds, and was said "by the diers of Philadelphia to be madder." It was used by the Indians "to die the white hair of deer-tails and the porcupine quills with which they ornament themselves of a red colour." In preparing it for use they "pound the roots in a mortar with the addition of the acid juices obtained from the crab-apple. They, then, throw the whole into a kettle of water along with the substance to be died, and place the vessel over a gentle fire until the color is properly fixed." Their *orange color* is obtained from the root of the *Pocoon* and from the plant called *Touch-me-not* and "they die their *bright yellow* with the root of a plant which grows spontaneously in the western woods, and which might very properly be called *radix flora Americana*." The *blues*, as is well known, "are made by the indigo of our own continent; . . . and the wood, without which no deep or lasting blue can be made, is the natural product of our western soil." Their *greens* are made by boiling various blue substances in the liquor of "*Smooth Hickory bark*, which dies a yellow; . . . but the goodness of the green depends on that of the blue. There are other substances, which die a yellow color and with which the indigo will form a green, but they are inferior to the *radix flora*, or Yellow root, in making a yellow and with the indigo a green." Of the *sumach* "they make a beautiful black as

¹Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 44. 63: Paris, 1758. Cf. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193, for notice of other paints.

²Transactions American Philosophical Society, Vol. III., pp. 222 *et seq.*: Philadelphia, 1793.

they do of the bark of the *white-walnut* and the vegetable acid; for they have no knowledge of the mineral acids." From other writers we learn that the Mississagua Indians of Canada "used the juice of the Indian Strawberry and the *Sanguinaria* in dyeing their birch bark and porcupine quill work. They also obtained a good red dye by boiling the bark of the swamp alder, and a rich yellow one was produced from the root of the black briony."¹ In Wisconsin, so we are told, "a very brilliant black is produced by the charcoal of a certain variety of willow, a bright yellow from the berry of the . . . *bois de perdrix*, and a pleasant red from the juice of the cranberry."²

Of the use of colors in a symbolical sense, it is not my purpose to speak, for the reason that there does not seem to have been any uniformity in the meanings given to them by the different tribes; and of course, under such conditions, a discussion of the subject can not lead to a satisfactory result. Neither does it come within the limits marked out for my guidance to treat of picture-writing, except in so far as the human body was used as a ground upon which certain designs were worked out by means of marks and figures, that were either of a transient or a permanent character.

Taking up the latter of these processes, or tattooing, as being the more important, though not, perhaps, so showy or so general as was the use of paints, we are told that among the Huron-Iroquois tribes of Canada, the custom, or as the old chronicler expresses it, "the art of making pictures on the living flesh," prevailed from the earliest times, though not to the same extent that it did in regions more to the south. Although often intended as ornament, yet it also served other purposes; for it was a protection against cold and wet, and it freed them from the persecution of the gnats. The process, or operation as it is termed,

¹ A. F. Chamberlain, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 1., No. 2, p. 156. Cf. *Jesuit Relations*, 1657, p. 33.

² Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 316: London, 1860.

was the same from Canada to Florida; and accepting Charlevoix's¹ account, as fairly representative of the mode of procedure throughout this entire region, we find that among the Indians of New France, the desired figure is first marked out on the body, and then pricked in with fish bones until the blood flows. Over this surface, is spread a coating of powdered charcoal, prepared poplar bark, or some other material, well beaten and pulverized, which penetrates under the skin and produces figures that are never effaced. Although the operation is not painful in itself, yet in a few days the skin becomes inflamed, fever supervenes, and if the weather is warm and the process has been carried too far, the patient may lose his life.

In the English colonies, and especially in Virginia, the whole body was commonly covered with these marks, but in New France "most are satisfied with a few figures of birds, serpents, or other animals, or even foliage," done "without order or symmetry, but according to the fancy of the individual, and often on the face, and sometimes on the eye lids." Many of the women cause themselves to be tattooed on the jaw by way of preventing the toothache.² Of the correctness of this account, as far as it goes, there can be no doubt; neither can there be any question as to its applicability to the southern tribes.³ It is, however, incomplete in that it fails to take cognizance of the

¹ *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 40 *et seq.* Cf. Sagard, p. 134. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 206.

² Compare Lafitau, III., p. 38, where it is said, "Les femmes Iroquoises ne se font point piquer du tout" except a few who "s'en servent comme d'un remede pour prévenir ou pour guérir le mal des dents." *Per contra*, Charlevoix tells us that "Beaucoup des femmes se font piquer," etc.

³ Compare Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques*, I., p. 139, and Du Pratz, II., p. 199. Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 66, says: "The women have their armes, breasts, thighs, shoulders and faces cunningly ymbroidered with divers workes, for pouncing or searing their skyns with a kind of instrument heated in the fier. They figure therein flowers and fruits of sondry lively kinds, as also snakes, serpents, eftes, &c., and this they doe by dropping upon the seared flesh sondry coulers, which, rub'd into the stampe, will never be taken away agayne, because yt will not only be dried into the flesh, but growe

fact that these figures were often gentile or individual designations, records of personal exploits, or possibly, the Manitou or thing dreamt of by the Savage at the time of his initiation. Indeed, it is quite probable in view of the Zoomorphic character generally of the totems, names, and individual Manitous, etc., that some of the figures of birds, serpents, and other animals of which Charlevoix speaks, may have been used in a representative capacity, just as other figures of which we have record, were unquestionably intended as exploit marks or prophylactics. Upon this point, however, it is well to let the early writers speak for themselves. And first of all Lafitau,¹ whose work, based largely on the Jesuit Relations, is one of the best that we have, tells us that when an Indian wishes to give notice that he has pre-empted a tract of land, "two, three or four miles in extent," and that trespassing thereon in the way of fishing or hunting is forbidden, he draws on a piece of bark or on the body of a tree blazed for the purpose, the outline of a head on which instead of eyes, nose, mouth, etc., he copies "the marks that are tattooed on his face and breast" together with such other "characteristics as may be necessary to express his wishes." As each individual has his "particular mark," it is easy for those who only know him by reputation to identify him, just as formerly, in Europe, we recognized a man by his device, and, today, we distinguish a family by its armorial bearings.²

therein": Hakluyt Soc. Publications: London, 1849. Cf. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130: Richmond, 1819. According to Laudonnière "the most part of them have their bodies, armes and thighs painted with faire devises; the painting whereof can never be taken away because the same is pricked into their flesh."

¹ *Mœurs des Sauvages Amérindiens*, III., pp. 34 et seq.: Paris, 1724.

² Cf. Jesuit Relation, 1641, p. 73, where it is said, "Ils passent leurs peaux avec beaucoup de soin et d'industrie, et s'étudient à les enjoliver en diverses façons, mais encore plus leur propre corps, sur lequel depuis la teste jusqu'aux pieds ils font faire mille diverses figures avec du charbon piequé dans la chair, sur laquelle auparavant ils ont tracé leurs lignes: de sorte qu'on leur voit quelquefois le visage et l'estomac figuré, comme le sont en France, les morions, et les cuirasses et les hausse cols des gens de guerre, et le reste du corps à l'advenant": Quebec, 1858.

In New England,¹ we are told that in addition to the "pourtratures" of beasts and fowls tattooed upon their cheeks, "the better sort have certain round Impressions downe the outside of their armes and brests in forme of mullets or spur rowels which they imprint by searing irons.² Whether these be foiles to illustrate their unparalleled beauty (as they deeme it) or Armes to blazon their antique gentilitie, I cannot easily determine; but a Sagamore with a Humberk in his ears for a pendant, a black Hawke on his *occiput* for his plume, Mowhackees for his gold chaine, good store of wampumpeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked *Indian* spatterlashes at his heeles for his guard thinks himself . . . all one with King Charles."

Interesting as it would be to continue these quotations, time would fail us were we to attempt it, and we, therefore, content ourselves with a reference to certain authorities and an indication, more or less brief, as to the nature of their testimony. Thus, for example, in strong confirmation of what is said as to the representative character of many of these marks, Father Le Mercier³ tells us that the ineffaceable figure of the Divinity "chosen by the young Indian at the time of his initiation, was always carried, painted on his body as if with a burin"; and from Father Jerome Lallemant⁴ we learn that an Iroquois chief, called Nero by the French, in addition to eighty men whom he had caused to be burnt by way of appeasing the manes of his brother, had the marks for sixty others, whom he had killed with his own hand, tattooed on his thigh. Loskiel⁵ gives an account of another Iroquois

¹ Woods, *New England's Prospect*, p. 74: Prince Soc. Publications: Boston, 1865.

² Compare Strachey, *Virginia*, p. 66. Laudonnière, *Florida*, p. 458, in Hakluyt, II.: Edinburgh, 1889.

³ *Jesuit Relations*, 1670, p. 81: Quebec, 1858. There is reason to believe that this applied to girls as well as boys.

⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, 1663, p. 28: Quebec, 1858.

⁵ *Indians of North America*, p. 50: London, 1794.

who was surnamed the Black Prince on account of the numerous markings on his body; and Heckwelder,¹ describing a Lenape warrior, says "besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements . . . on his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it never could be surpassed by man."

Among the Indians on the South Atlantic coast, and throughout all that region formerly known as Louisiana, the women seem to have been more generally tattooed than were their sisters to the northward.² In other respects, there was but little if any difference between the people of the two sections. In Louisiana, as in New France, the idea of personal adornment was certainly a leading consideration, though it was not always the sole or even the controlling motive of those who indulged most freely in the

¹ *Indian Nations*, p. 206: Philadelphia, 1876. Among the Otos and Omahas a man who had given away property to the amount of one hundred dollars could have blue mark tattooed on forehead of female relative.

² "The chief Ladyes of Secota, &c." have "their foreheads, cheeks, chynne, armes and leggs pownced": Hariot, Plates IV., VI. and X.: London, 1893. "Mais la plus grand parure de tous ces Sauvages de l'un & de l'autre sexe consiste dans certaines figures de Soleils, de serpens ou autres, qu'ils portent peintes sur leur corps, à la façon de ces anciens Bretons dont Cæsar nous parle. . . . Les Guerriers, ainsi les femmes des chefs & des considérés, se font peindre de ces figures au visage, aux bras, aux épaules, aux cuisses, aux jambes, & principalement au ventre & à l'estomac. C'est pour eux non-seulement un ornement, mais encore une marque d'honneur & de distinction": Dumont, *Louisiane*, I., p. 139: Paris, 1753. "The Indian women are allowed to make marks all over their body . . . ; they endure it firmly, like the men, in order to please them and to appear handsome to them": Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I., p. 164: London, 1771.

practice. The Virginia Indians, for example, were accustomed to tattoo certain marks upon their backs "whereby it may be knowen what Princes subject they bee, or of what place they have their originall";¹ and in Florida, a Paracoussy, named Potanou, on one occasion "took certain prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like unto a scale, and so imprinted as if it had been touched with an hotte yron, then he let them goe without any more hurt."²

A hundred and fifty years later, Du Pratz,³ speaking of this custom, tells us that whilst the women of Louisiana were tattooed in early youth on the nose, chin, and other portions of the body, including even the breasts, the young men were marked on the nose, and nowhere else, until they had distinguished themselves by some warlike exploit. If they took a scalp, or performed some other notable action, they were privileged to tattoo themselves with a suitable figure, as e. g., a war club on the right shoulder, beneath which was the hieroglyph of the defeated tribe. All others, he adds, were marked according to the dictates of their fancy.

Marking such as that of which Du Pratz speaks, and the same may be said of those figured in Hariot, were evidently exploit marks as they are termed; and some idea of the importance, we might almost say the sacred character, attached to them may be inferred from the fact that the warlike achievements of a prisoner are readily known to his captors "by the blue marks tattooed on his breast and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us." Indeed so particular were they in this respect, that if anyone caused himself to be falsely tattooed, i. e.,

¹ Hariot, *Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia*, Plate XXIII.: London, 1893.

² Laudonnière, in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages to America*, II., p. 458: Edinburgh, 1889.

³ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 196, 198, 199: Paris, 1758.

without having performed the act for which the mark stood, it was the custom among the "Chickasah" publicly to degrade him "by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree takes out the impression."¹ Among the Osages the operation was far more drastic, for according to Bossu, they cut out the false marks.²

In regard to paintings on the body, there is not much to be added to what has been said upon the subject of tattooing. The two processes were so uniform in aim and end that it may be said of the painting as it was of the tattooing, that they were either useful or ornamental, or, possibly, as was often the case, they may have been intended to serve both purposes at one and the same time. On this point, however, it is well to make haste slowly, for it is sometimes necessary, in the light of recent investigations, to modify the conclusions of even the most trustworthy of the old chroniclers. Take, for example, the statement of Sagard³ that the Hurons "painted pictures of men, animals, birds, and other grotesques upon their bodies . . . as well as upon the front of their cabins, not for purposes of worship but simply to please the eye." Unquestionably, this account of the pictures as they appeared to the worthy Recollet is true, and yet, tested by the canons of modern criticism, we see in these "figures," not ornaments merely, but rather totems, individual names, or possibly the records of notable achievements. That this is the correct view is, we think, evident from what Loskiel⁴ tells us of a similar custom among the Lenape. According to him, "one prides himself with the figure of a serpent upon each cheek, another with that of a tortoise, deer, bear, or some

¹ Adair, *American Indians*, p. 389: London, 1775.

² *Travels through Louisiana*, I., p. 164: London, 1771.

³ *Voyage au Pays des Hurons*, I., p. 86: Paris, 1865.

⁴ *Indians of North America*, p. 49: London, 1794. At the installation of a gentile chief among the Wyandots "the women paint the gentile totem on his face." First Report of Bureau of Ethnology, p. 62.

other creature, as his arms and signatures," and these marks or "national badges," as Heckwelder calls them,¹ "are painted on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. They also serve for signatures to treaties and other documents"; and, he adds, "they are so proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times."

These are a few of the uses to which these paintings are put, but they do not by any means complete the list, for we are told that when they go to war they "bedaub their faces with Tobacco-Pipe clay, Lamp-black, black Lead, and divers other colours, which they make with the several sorts of Minerals and earths that they get in different parts of the country, where they hunt and travel." When thus painted they are said to have looked "more like Devils than Human Creatures,"² and hence, perhaps, Charlevoix's statement that the warriors paint themselves to intimidate their enemies, and possibly to conceal any trace of fear. Young men we are told paint in order to appear older than they really are and, also, to render themselves attractive, in which case the colors are more vivid and in greater variety. The dead, and prisoners destined for death, are always painted;³ and finally, the face is colored black as a sign of mourning,⁴ just as among certain tribes, women of easy

¹ *Indian Nations*, p. 254: Philadelphia, 1876. Adair, p. 79. See also Sagard, p. 246, for use of gentile totems.

² Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192: London, 1718. Cf. Lafitau, III., p. 50. Jesuit Relation, 1665, p. 6; and 1658, p. 29, where it is said: "lors qu' il est bien barbouillé, on le tient un bel homme; et en Europe, on le prendroit pour un demon." Adair, p. 398. Capt. Clark, *Sign Language*, pp. 276 et seq.: Philadelphia, 1885. Carver, *Travels*, p. 227. Megapolensis, p. 154.

³ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 41: Paris, 1744. Heckwelder, p. 271. Jesuit Relation, 1636, p. 10. Perrot, p. 32: Paris, 1864. Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 282.

⁴ Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 19. Cf. Charlevoix, VI., p. 111. Carver, *Travels*, p. 407: London, 1778. Sagard, I., p. 201. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 182.

virtue paint themselves in a particular manner¹ by way of indicating their mode of life.

Of the paintings that were purely ornamental it is difficult to speak with certainty. That there were such, or some that were believed to be such, is evident from the statements that have come down to us.² Father Charles Lallemant, for instance, tells us that for most of the time they have their faces painted . . . in divers ways according to the fancy of the women, who are said to paint their husbands and children;³ and Father Le Jeune reports that he had seen the wife of Manitougache engaged in this work. He adds that they find it so becoming that little children do not think themselves handsome unless they are painted.⁴ In Florida, the Knight of Elvas met with certain Indians who had "their bodies, thighs and arms ochred and dyed with black, white, yellow and red, striped like unto panes, so that they showed as though they went in hose and doublets; and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces black, and their eyes done round about with streaks of red, to seem more fierce";⁵ and in the Relation for 1632 we are told of certain Indians who were painted "like the masks that are seen in France at lent: Some had the nose painted blue, the eyes, eyebrows and cheeks black, and the balance of the face red; . . . others had a black stripe, as broad as a ribbon, drawn

Per contra Capt. Clark, *Sign Language*, p. 277, says that among Indians of the Plains "black means joy; white mourning; red beauty; and an excessive use of any of these or other colors, excitement."

¹ Heekwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 203. Bartram, *Travels*, p. 501.

² "Quand quelqu'un veut aller en visite, ou assister à quelque festin, ou à quelque danse, il se fait peindre le visage de diverses couleurs, par quelque femme ou par quelque fille, &c.": Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29. Cf. Gookin, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., Series I., p. 153. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 49. "Adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. Du Pratz, H., p. 197. Lafitau, III., p. 42.

³ Jesuit Relation, 1626, p. 4, and 1658, p. 29: Quebec, 1858.

⁴ Jesuit Relation, 1633, p. 6.

⁵ *Knight of Elvas*, in Louisiana Hist. Coll., Part II., p. 165.

from one ear to the other, across the eyes and small stripes on the cheeks.”¹ We are not told whether these figures were purely ornamental; and in view of the use, in recent times, of similar paintings, and even stripes and dots as badges of office, exploit marks, and for other purposes,² it is by no means certain that they were. All that can be said is that they were undoubtedly of Indian origin, and so far as they were intended to glorify the individual warrior, they sprung from the desire for admiration.

Returning now to the subject of bodily mutilation from which we have wandered, we find that the custom of compressing the head so as to give it a different shape, was more or less common. South of the Ohio, the object was to flatten it; and to this end the child was fastened on a cradle board, and a bag of sand, clay or some other means of pressure applied to the forehead. This, of course, forced the forehead backward, and as the occiput was equally confined, it caused the skull “to shoot upwards,” there being no other way for it to grow. By this “wild piece of mechanism,” as it is called, “the rising of the nose, instead of being equi-distant from the beginning of the chin to that of the hair, is placed a great deal nearer to the one and farther away from the other.” According to another account, “it makes the eyes stand in a prodigious way asunder, and the Hair hang on the Forehead like the Eaves of a House.” Both writers³ agree as to the frightful or hideous appearance of those whose heads are thus deformed; and by others⁴ we are told of the sufferings of the child

¹ p. 4: Quebec, 1858. Compare Heekwelder, p. 204.

² Compare Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, pp. 16 *et seq.*: London, 1860. Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 298 *et seq.*, and Plates VI. and VII. Tenth Annual Report of same, pp. 439, 633, &c., &c.: Washington, 1893. Among the Wyandots, according to Major Powell, First Ann. Rep. Bur. of Ethnology, p. 62, on the installation of a gentile chief, the gentile totem was painted on his face.

³ Adair, pp. 8, 284. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 34, 190. Bartram, *Travels*, p. 515.

⁴ Charlevoix, VI., p. 34. Lafitau, II., p. 283.

during the first stages of the operation. Radical as was this change in the shape of the head, it was not followed, so far as we have been able to discover, by any diminution or accession of brain power; neither is it believed to have strengthened the sight, whatever the Indian may have said to the contrary. North of the St. Lawrence, were the *Têtes de boule*, an Algonquin tribe, among whom a different type of beauty prevailed. According to their ideas, a round head was the ideal: and Indian mothers soon after the birth of a child, began a course of treatment which was intended to give this shape to the head.¹ So far as known to me, this practice was limited to this one tribe, though the custom of flattening the head was very general in the South, "extending even to Mexico."²

Of the use of labrets and of the custom among the men of piercing the nipples and inserting a reed or cane in the hole, I do not propose to speak, as the evidence on the point is not altogether satisfactory. *Cabeça de Vaca*,³ it is true, asserts that both customs existed among the Indians of Florida; and Adair⁴ and Father Paul Ragneneuve⁵ speak of piercing the lip, but in such an indefinite manner that it does not carry much weight. At all events their statements are not corroborated, as they would have been

¹ Lalitau, H., p. 283. Charlevoix, V., p. 275, and VI., p. 35. Cf. Robt. Rogers, p. 245.

² Adair, p. 8. "Tous les peuples de la Louisiane l'ont aussi plate ou peu s'en faut": Du Pratz, H., p. 216. Cf. Gravier, p. 134. Cavelier, p. 40. Tonti, p. 60. Membré, p. 182. Margry, V., p. 131.

³ Relation, pp. 75, 78: New York, 1871.

⁴ "Some of the South American natives cut the lobes of their ears, and for a considerable time fastened small weights to them, in order to lengthen them; that others cut holes in their upper and under lips; through the cartilage of the nose, their chins and jaws, and either hung or thrust through them, such things as they most fancied, which also agrees with the ancient customs of our Northern Indians." *History of the American Indians*, p. 213: London, 1775.

⁵ "En d'autres endroits de l'Amerique, quelques Nations se percent le nez, entre les deux narines, d'où ils font dependre quelques jolivetes; . . . et d'autres sur leurs levres pendantes et renversées, et tout cela pour contenter leurs yeux, et pour trouver le point de la beauté." *Jesuit Relation*, 1658, p. 30.

if the custom had been general, and hence I do not insist upon their acceptance.

But whilst the existence among our Indians, of these two methods of bodily mutilation or, if the term be preferred, of ornamentation may well be doubted, the same cannot be said of the customs of piercing the nose and ears. These were widespread, and were usually common to all the members of the tribe, women as well as men; though there were tribes, like the Iroquois, in which the women did not pierce the nose, and "it was only among certain others that they pierced the ears."¹ Although evidently intended for ornamental purposes, yet there were people among whom the custom had something of a religious significance, resembling in this respect the practice of infant baptism among ourselves. Thus, for example, we are told by Perrot,² that the operation was performed when the child was five or six months old by a medicine man ("*jongleur*"), who made an invocation to the sun, or some chosen spirit, beseeching him to have pity on the child and preserve its life. He then pierced the ears with a bone, and the nose with a needle: and filled the wounds in the former with small rolls of bark, and that in the latter with the quill end of a feather. These were suffered to remain until the wounds healed, when they were removed, and in their places were substituted tufts of the down of birds. The ceremony was always accompanied by a feast, and handsome presents were made to the Shaman and his assistants.

The holes in the ears of the men and women were of different sizes, and served to distinguish the sexes;³ those

¹ "Leurs narines ne sont jamais percées, & il n'y a que parmi quelques Nations, qu'elles se percent les oreilles." Charlevoix, VI., p. 43. As to the existence of these customs, Cf. Lafitau, III., p. 53. Sagard, p. 135. Carver, p. 227. Loskiel, p. 49. Marquette, p. 48. Iberville, p. 72, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1875. Adair, p. 171.

² *Mémoire sur les Mœurs, Costumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, p. 30: Leipzig et Paris, 1864.

³ Lafitau, III., p. 53. Adair, p. 171.

in the ears of the women being small, whilst the men sometimes cut a slit almost entirely around the rim of the ear, which "they distend and stretch as much as possible," so much so, in fact, that the loop hangs almost to the shoulder.¹ Not unfrequently the outer edge of skin is torn apart; and then the Indian is plunged into the depths of humiliation until, by paring the broken ends, they can be made to grow together.² Heckwelder³ reports an instance of an Indian, who was with difficulty prevented from killing himself on account of an accident of this character; and he adds that it was owing to the frequency of such accidents, that the custom of stretching the holes in the ears to this enormous extent was falling into desuetude.

Of the articles worn in the ears and nose, our accounts are full and explicit. To a certain extent they were the same—might in fact have been used indiscriminately; and yet such an arrangement must have been one sided, for whilst the nose ornaments could be used in the ears, there were so many worn in the ears that could not be adapted to the nose, that it seems advisable to consider them separately. Beginning then with nose-rings, as this entire class is usually called, we find that relatively speaking, they were few in number, and that the material of which they were generally made was shell. The savages, for instance, whom Sagard⁴ saw in Canada, had a blue bead (*patinotre*) of good size which hung down from above, on the upper lip. On the Atlantic coast a "large pearl, or a piece of silver, gold, or wampum"⁵ was used; and in "the interior parts" of the country, sea-shells were much worn and were "reckoned very ornamental."⁶ In the Gulf States, "such

¹ Compare Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 30. Adair, p. 171. Carver, p. 277. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 49. Lafitau, III., p. 49. Bartram, p. 499.

² Adair, *North American Indians*, p. 171: London, 1775.

³ Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 207: Philadelphia, 1876.

⁴ *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 135: Paris, 1865. Radisson, *Voyages*, in Prince Soc. Pub., pp. 146, 226.

⁵ Loskiel, p. 49: London, 1794.

⁶ Carver, *Travels*, p. 227: London, 1778.

coarse diamonds as their own hilly country produced were, in old times, fastened with a deer's sinew to their hair, nose, ears and maccasenes." They also, so it is said, formerly used nose-rings and jewels; but, "at present they hang a piece of battered silver or pewter, or a large bead to the nostril, like the European method of treating swine to prevent them from rooting."¹

On the other hand, their supply of rings, pendants and articles of different kinds worn in the ears, was practically unlimited. Shells in the shape of beads of different sizes, pendants, and small cylinders like the stem of a Holland pipe, were in use among the Indians of Canada, as were small pieces of a red stone worked into the shape of an arrowhead.² The New England and western Indians indulged in pendants in "the formes of birds, beasts and fishes, carved out of bone, shells and stone";³ and farther to the south "they decorate the lappets of their ears with pearls, rings, sparkling stones, feathers, flowers, corals, or silver crosses."⁴ In Carolina they "wear great Bobs in their Ears and sometimes in the Holes thereof they put Eagles and other Birds Feathers for a Trophy."⁵ Copper, in the shape of beads, pendants or wire, was in use from Canada to Florida, as were tufts of down as large as the fist, oiled and painted red.⁶ Fish bladders, which are said to have looked like pearl, were worn in the South,⁷

¹ Adair, p. 171. Among the articles traded to the Indians at different times, mention is made of nose-crosses.

² Lafitau, III., pp. 49, 53. Charlevoix, VI., p. 43. Sagard, 133.

³ Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p. 74. Prince Society Publications. *Plaine Dealing or Neues from New England*, in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 103. Father Rasle, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 38.

⁴ Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, pp. 49, 52. Beverly, *Virginie*, Plate II. *First Voyage to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286: Edinburgh, 1889.

⁵ Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

⁶ Lafitau, III., pp. 49-50. Brereton, p. 90, in Vol. VIII., of 3d Series Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections. Adair, p. 171. Radisson, *Voyages*, *loc. cit.*, p. 146. Verrazzano, *loc. cit.*, p. 401. *First Voyage to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286: Edinburgh, 1889.

⁷ De Bry, *Brevis Narratio*, quoted in *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 521: New York, 1873.

as was a pin made of the interior of a shell, called Burgo, as large as the little finger and quite as long, with a head to prevent it from slipping through the hole in which it was inserted.¹ Finally, according to Strachey,² and his account, we may remark in passing, is a good summary of the whole subject, "their ears they bore with wyde holes, commonly two or three, and in the same they doe hang chaines of stayned pearls, braceletts of white bone or shreds of copper, beaten thinne and bright, and wound up hollowe, and with a great pride, certaine fowles leggs, eagles, hawkes, turkeys, etc., etc., with beast's claws, beares, arrahacounes, squirrels, etc. The clawes thrust through they let hang upon the cheeke to the full view, and some of their men there be, who will weare in these holes a small green and yellow colored live snake, neere half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping himself about his neck often tymes familiarly, he suffereth to kiss his lippes. Others weare a dead ratt tyed by the tayle, and such like conundrums."

Closely connected with this style of personal ornamentation, and of interest on account of the wide field it afforded for the display of individual taste,³ were the methods of dressing the hair. To specify a tithe of the fashions that prevailed in this particular among the different tribes, or among the members of the same tribe, would take more time than we can well afford. Moreover, it would not be productive of any definite result, in view of what is told us of the fantastic character of many of these

¹ Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 195.

² *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 57, 67. Compare Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. Hariot, Plates III., IV., VII.: London, 1893. *Brevis Narratio*, in De Bry, Plate XIV. Geo. Percy, in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1687. Among the articles traded to the Indians, we find silver ear rings, ear wheels and ear bobs mentioned in the same invoice.

³ Jesuit Relations, 1633, p. 35. Megapolensis, *loc. cit.*, p. 154. Cartier, in *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 43. Laudonnière, in same, p. 413. Champlain, I., p. 390. Latitau, I., p. 201.

fashions, and of the changes they underwent.¹ Instead, therefore, of attempting to describe one or more of the "cuts, . . . which would torture the wits of a curious Barber to imitate,"² it will be sufficient to call attention to the fact that the Indians usually went bareheaded, and that, aside from gratifying the fancy of the individual, the arrangement of the hair was often intended to give visible expression to some particular condition of savage life. Thus we find that whilst it very generally served to distinguish the sexes,³ it was a tribal peculiarity with the *Cheveux Relevés*⁴ and the Hurons,⁵ both of whom took their names from the way they wore their hair. It is also extremely probable that it was at one time used as a clan designation and a badge of office, for it is even yet customary among the Omahas to trim the hair of the children in such a way as to resemble the totems of the clans to which they belong; and in Virginia, the medicine-men "shave all their heads saving their creste which they weare in manner of a cockscombe," and "fasten a small black

¹ Lafitau, III., pp. 48, 49.

² *New England's Prospect*, p. 72. Cf. Williams's Key, p. 58.

³ Adair, p. 171. Cf. Charlevoix, VI., pp. 42, 43. Lafitau, III., pp. 48 et seq. Among the Houmas, a woman who had led several war parties and was held in high esteem, "had the first place in all councils . . . and had her hair dressed like the men": Gravier, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. Winslow, in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1869.

⁴ "Leur fantaisie est leur mode. Quelques-uns les portent relevez sur le haut de la teste, la pointe en hant. Il se trouve une Nation toute entière, qui le nomme cheveux relevez, pour ce qu' ils aiment cette façon de coiffure. D'autres se rasent sur le milieu de la teste, ne portant du poil qu' au deux costez, comme de grands moustaches. Quelques uns découvrent tout un costé, et laisse l'autre tout couvert." Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29. Cf. Radisson, *loc. cit.*, p. 146, for notices of Cheveux Relevés.

⁵ "Quelque Matelot ou Soldat, voyant pour la premiere fois cette sorte de barbares, dont les uns portoient les cheveux sillonez, en sorte que sur le milieu de la teste paroissoit une raye de cheveux large d' un ou deux doigts, puis de part et d' autre autant de razé, en ensuite une outre raye de cheveux, et d'autres qu' avoient un costé de la teste tout razé et l' autre garny de cheveux pendant jusques sur l' espaule, cette façon de cheveux lui semblant des bures, cela le porta à appeler ces barbares Hurons, et c' est le nom qui depuis leur est demeuré." Jesuit Relation, 1639, p. 51.

birde above one of their eares as a badge of their office."¹

Among the New England Indians, the men and boys had different ways of dressing the hair;² and we are assured that everywhere—north as well as south—an Indian when on the war-path, arranged his hair very differently from what he did at other times.³ Indeed, there is reason to believe that in this respect the custom was tribal rather than individual, for Adair⁴ tells us that among the southern Indians "different tribes when at war trim their hair after a different manner, so that we can distinguish an enemy in the woods, so far off as we can see him." That it was, also, indicative of social position, is a fair inference from the statement that, among these same tribes, the hair of the slaves was cut short.⁵

The women, on the contrary, were so far from cutting their hair in "a thousand different ways" that they guarded it with jealous care; and no more serious affront could be offered to a woman than to deprive her of it.⁶ Sometimes, it is true, she was condemned to lose it as a punishment,⁷ and there were occasions when she was made drunk and robbed of it by men who sold it to the whites;⁸ but as a rule, her hair was never cut off except when mourning, and then by herself and as a sign of grief, or possibly, as the old writer suggests, it may have been

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 26: Edinburgh, 1887. "They differ from each other in the mode of dressing their heads, each following the custom of the nation or band to which they belong, and adhering to the form made use of by their ancestors from time immemorial." Carver, *Travels*, p. 229. Cf. Miss Fletcher, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. I., No. II., pp. 116, *et seq.*, for modes of cutting hair among Omahas; and Harriot, Plate XI., for statement as to medicine man. See Capt. Smith, p. 139, for an account of the snake skin head-dress of the chief Priest.

² *New England's Prospect*, p. 72.

³ Lafitau, III., p. 50. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192.

⁴ *American Indians*, p. 8: London, 1775. Gookin, *loc. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵ *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., p. 428.

⁶ Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., pp. 42, 43. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 203.

⁷ Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 52.

⁸ Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 203.

for the purpose of obliging her to remain in her cabin,¹ for she did not show herself until it was grown again. However, be that as it may, the custom seems to have lost much of its severity, for the Iroquois recognizing the fact that the hair was a great ornament, and that it grew very slowly, compromised the matter by simply trimming the end of the tress which hung at the back, thus shortening materially the time of mourning. Among the Virginia and Florida Indians, the old custom still prevailed, for they cut off their hair and threw it in or on the grave.² With such views as to the significance of the different methods of wearing the hair, we can well understand why they left it long; though there were differences between tribes, and, not unfrequently, between the married and unmarried women of the same tribe in the manner of "trussing it."³

In ornamenting the hair, or rather in the materials of which their head-dresses were composed, for the two cannot well be separated, there was a general sameness, though there was no limit to the ways in which these materials were employed and to the effects that were produced. Paints, for instance, of different colors, and down in the shape of powder,⁴ were spread over the head. Oils of

¹ Lafitau, III., pp. 48, *et seq.*, and IV., pp. 151, 152.

² Lafitau, IV., p. 152. Landoumière, in *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 415; Edinburgh, 1889.

³ Carver, *Travels*, p. 229. Lescarbot, III., pp. 679, 681. Hariot, *Narrative*, Plates III., VI., VIII. In the explanation to plate VI., it is said that "their haire is cutt with two ridges above their foreheads, the rest is trussed opp on a knott behinde": *Cf.* Loskiel, p. 52, for account of the way the Delawares, Iroquois and Shawnees arrange their hair, and for the statement that the Iroquois are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest. Lawson, p. 191, says, "the hair of their heads is made into a long roll like a Horse's Tail, and bound round with *Ronoak* or *Porcelan*, which is a sort of Beads they make of the Conk-Shells. Others that have not this, make a Leather String serve": According to Champlain, however, "les femmes et les filles . . . les portent toujours d' une mesme façon." *Voyages*, I., p. 380.

⁴ Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. "Les cheveux bien peignez." Champlain, I., 380. "When they kill any fowl, they commonly pluck off the downy feathers and stick them all over their heads." Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

nuts and sunflower seed, as well as the fat of animals, were used in greasing the hair and body generally,¹ disagreeable as must have been the "stinking and nasty" condition which it is said to have caused.² Feathers, too, either single, or in the shape of a chaplet or "crown," were in demand as an ornament,³ a mark of honor,⁴ or a badge of office;⁵ and among the southern Indians the privilege "of wearing a pair of young buffalo-bull's horns on the forehead, and of dancing with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him," was only granted to those who had made three successful "wolfish campaigns."⁶ Snake-skins stuffed with moss, tied by the tails, and suffered to hang from each side of the head, a good ell or more in length, were worn by the Hurons as an ornament,⁷ whilst in Virginia, where this style of head-dress was limited to the "chief Priest," it was probably intended to mark his occupation.⁸ Shell beads of different sizes and colors, woven into a belt of many figures and worn as a diadem,⁹ were in high favor among them, as were wreaths of martin or swan skin and "frontalls of currall and copper."¹⁰

¹ Lafitau, III., p. 50. "Peints et graissez." Champlain, I., p. 380. [See Note 5. p. 392.]

² Lafitau, III., p. 53. Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 16; and 1633, p. 16.

³ Sagard, I., p. 134. Du Pratz, II., p. 197. Cf. Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 167. Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. Adair, p. 84. Father Rasle, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴ Adair, *loc. cit.*, p. 398. Cf. Mallery, in *Tenth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 434-437.

⁵ Du Pratz, II., p. 198. Major Powell, in *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 61, 62. Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶ Adair, p. 30. Cf. Lafitau III., pp. 17, 19. *Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 67, 125, 151, 168, &c., &c.: Philadelphia, 1883. Charlevoix, VI., p. 42, says "deere horns" were so used.

⁷ Sgard, I., p. 131; and II., p. 229.

⁸ Capt. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

⁹ Lafitau, III., p. 50. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 227 and plate III. Adair, p. 170, states that a conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's fore-finger, was fixed to the crown of the head as a high honor. De Vries, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

¹⁰ Adair, p. 84. Lafitau, III., p. 50. Strachey, p. 68. *First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 287. Cartier, in same, p. 122.

On solemn occasions, as on gala-days, the Iroquois wore above the ear a tuft of the feathers, or the wing, or the whole skin, of some rare bird;¹ and the Virginia Indians tied up the lock of hair which they leave full length on the left side of the head, with an "arteficyall and well labored knott, stuck with many colored gew-gawes, as the cast head or brow-antle of a deare, the hand of their enemy dried, croisettes of bright and shyning copper, like the newe moone. Many wore the whole skyne of a hauke stuffed, with the wings abroad, . . . and to the feathers they will fasten a little rattle, about the bignes of the chape of a rapier, which they take from the tayle of a snake, and some tymes divers kinds of shells, hanging loose by small purfleets or threeds, that, being shaken as they move, they might make a certaine murmuring or whisteling noise by gathering wynd, in which they seeme to take great jollity, and hold yt a kind of bravery."²

In addition to the articles noted above and worn as ornaments, honors, etc., there were others that were used as bracelets, necklaces, gorgets, etc. As a rule they were of bone, pearl, shell and copper, though the claws and talons of beasts and birds of prey³ were also used. Except occasionally in size, they did not differ materially from the beads, pendants, etc., that were worn on the head and in the ears. Taking up these articles in their order, we find that in the Gulf States the Indians made bracelets of bone. For this purpose they chose the rib of a deer, which was soaked in boiling water and thus rendered soft and pliable. It was then worked into the desired shape, and is said to have been as white and smooth as polished ivory.⁴ In Virginia "polished," or as they are

¹ Lafitau, III., p. 50. Cf. Adair, p. 8, for same custom among Southern tribes.

² Strachey, *loc. cit.*, p. 67. Cf. *First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 286 *et seq.*, for account of copper pendants, sometimes five or six in either ear, and red pieces of copper on the head.

³ Charlevoix, VI., p. 42.

⁴ Du Pratz, II., p. 197.

sometimes called "smooth bones," were used in connection with "pearles and little beedes of copper" as necklaces and earrings;¹ and in New England, as we have seen, bones carved in the shape of birds, beasts and fishes were worn as pendants in the ears; and in Weymouth's voyage we are told that they were also used as bracelets.

Of pearls, there seems to have been an abundance,² though they were unequally distributed. Owing perhaps to this fact, and to the extravagant accounts of some of the old writers, it has been thought that they were, not unfrequently, confounded with shell beads; and, yet, the statements as to their use are too frequent and too detailed in character, to leave any doubt about the matter, even without the confirmatory evidence of the mounds. Upon this point the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition are in full accord; and whilst we may well doubt whether the Spaniards took "three hundred and ninety-two pounds of pearls, and little babies and birds made of them" from the graves near Cutifachiqui,³ yet when we are told that pearls "of the bigness of good pease" were found in Virginia, and that one man "gathered together from among the savage people about five thousand" of them,⁴ we cannot but admit that there is a foundation of fact in the story of the old writer, extravagant as it seems to be.

¹ Hariot, plates IV., VI. and VII.

² "A quantity of pearls amounting to six or seven arrobes." Biedma, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, part II., p. 101. "In her eares bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle." *Voyages of English Nation to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286. In same, p. 304, it is said, "not only his own skinnies that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see." "Bracelets of real pearls; but they pierce them when hot, and thus spoil them." Membré, *loc. cit.*, p. 183. Cf. Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 86, and in same, p. 140, Father Gravier says, "the chief's wife had some small pearls . . . but about seven or eight which are as large as small peas": Cf. Capt. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 138, 144, 191, &c. Strachey, pp. 54, 132. Tonti, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

³ Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. Cf. Garcilaso de la Vega, I., pp. 424, 434; and in Vol. II., pp. 5, *et seq.*, there is an account of the way in which the Indians extracted pearls from shells: Paris, 1670.

⁴ *First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 286, 334; Edinburgh, 1889.

Copper, too, in various shapes, was in high favor among them, as aside from its use as ornament and as a mark of authority, it had among certain tribes a sort of religious character or significance. In Wisconsin, for instance, in the heart of the copper-bearing region, it was not unusual to find pieces of fifteen or twenty pounds weight, that had been preserved in families, from time immemorial, and were venerated as domestic gods; whilst "the smaller pieces were looked upon as the possessions of the divinities that lived under the earth and as the playthings of their children."¹ Inviting as is this phase of my subject, it is not my purpose to discuss it; neither does it come within the scope of this investigation to inquire whether the Indians made use of fire when working their copper into beads, plates, "croisettes," etc., as there is reason to believe that they sometimes did. The only question that we are permitted to ask, relates to the extent and character of the use of this metal by the aborigines; and upon this point the answer is satisfactory. Beginning with the earliest recorded notices, we find that Verrazzano² in the course of his explorations along the Atlantic coast, saw many savages with "plates of wrought copper," which they valued more than gold on account of its color. Elsewhere, towards the northeast, the people were more savage, dressed in skins and "had beadstones of copper hanging in their ears." De Soto, too, at a place called Cutifachiqui, supposed to have been on the Savannah River, found "little hatchets of copper, which were said to have a mixture of gold"; and he heard of a country at the north, where there was a "melting of copper and of another metal of the same color."³ About A. D. 1561-2, Ribault⁴ speaks of seeing a chief, in Florida, who had

¹ Jesuit Relations, 1667, p. 8; and 1670, p. 84.

² In *Early English Voyages to America*, II., pp. 397, 401: Edinburgh, 1889.

³ Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 136, 149.

⁴ Historical Coll. of Louisiana, new series, p. 178: New York, 1875.

“hanging about his neck a round plate of copper, well polished, with one other lesser one of silver in the midst of it, and at his ear a little plate of copper wherewith they use to stripe the swete from their bodyes”; and a hundred years and more later, Father Membré¹ accompanied La Salle in his famous voyage down the Mississippi, and somewhere on the lower river they were visited by a chief of the Tensa, who was dressed in a fine white cloth or blanket, and was preceded by two men carrying fans of white feathers, and a third who carried “a copper plate, and a round one of the same metal, both highly polished.”

Shifting, now, our field of observation to Canada, we are told by Cartier,² who was on the St. Lawrence as early as 1535, that the Indians of that region had “red copper,” which they said came from the Saguenay. They called it *Caignetdaze*, and except in one instance where a knife was made of it, there is no record of the way in which it was used. Some seventy years later, shortly after the foundation of Quebec, Champlain³ speaks of a piece of copper a foot long, and very handsome and pure, which was given to him by an Algonquin savage. “He gave me to understand that there were large quantities where he had taken this, which was on the banks of a river, near a great lake. He said that they gathered it in lumps, and having melted it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones.” In 1658, Radisson⁴ wintered on the shore of Lake Superior, and together with several notices of copper he makes mention of a “yellow waire that they make with copper, made like a starr or a half-moon.” Soon after this, by 1671, the Jesuits had completed the circuit of Lake Superior, and it

¹ *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 171.

² *Early Voyages to America*, II., pp. 104, 124, 130, 141.

³ Pub. of Prince Soc., Vol. II., p. 236: Boston, 1878.

⁴ Prince Soc. Pub., pp. 188, 212.

is from them that we hear of a mass of copper weighing six or seven hundred pounds, so hard that steel would not mark it, but which, when heated, could be cut like lead.”¹

Continuing our investigation, we find that, in 1602, Gosnold made a “voyage of discovery” to the north part of Virginia, during the course of which he visited Martha’s Vineyard and the other islands off the south shores of Massachusetts. Speaking of the Indians of that region, we are told by one of the chroniclers of the expedition, that “they have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a pale color: none of them but have chains, ear rings or collars of this metal: they head some of their arrows herewith, much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly done. Their chains are many hollow pieces connected together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks: their collars they wear about their bodies like bandeliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups made like skulls, and other thin plates of copper made much like our boar spear blades,” etc.² From another participant in this same expedition, we hear of “tobacco pipes steeled with copper,” and of an Indian who had “hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breastplate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper.”³ From Roger Williams,⁴ who wrote some twenty years after the

¹ Jesuit Relation, 1670, p. 85.

² Brereton, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VIII., Series 3, p. 91.

³ Archer, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VIII., Series 3, p. 75. Voyage of Martin Pringe, in Purchas’ *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1655: London, 1625.

⁴ Key, in Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 55.

settlement at Plymouth, we learn that "they have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes," and Hendrik Hudson, according to Ruttinber,¹ found copper pipes among the Indians living near where New York City now stands.

Farther to the south, in Virginia proper, copper was much used, especially in the shape of beads. Capt. Smith² tells us that they were very covetous of it, and Strachey³ is full of references to it. Besides these writers we are told that some twenty-five or thirty years earlier, on the occasion of a visit made by Granganimeo, the king's brother, to the English, he wore upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper . . . and that when he was present none durst trade but himself: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himself: for that is the difference betweene the noblemen and the governors of the countreys, and the meaner sort.⁴ Mr. Ralph Lane heard of a "marvellous mineral" called Wassador, or copper, which being thrown into the fire yielded in five parts at the first melting, "two parts of metall for three partes of oare";⁵ and Strachey⁶ tells us that the hills to the northwest have that store of copper "as Bocootauwanaukes are said to parte the solide metall from the stone without fire, bellowes, or aditamant, and beat it into plates," having apparently forgotten that on a previous page, he states on the authority of Powhatan, that these same people "melted copper and other metalls." Of the various uses of copper we have already spoken,

¹ Ruttinber, p. 8.

² *Virginia*, p. 129.

³ *Historie of Travaile in Virginia*, in Hakluyt Soc. Pub., pp. 54, 57, 65, 113, &c., &c.,: London, 1849.

⁴ In *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 287.

⁵ *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 309.

⁶ *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

and it is only necessary to add that in "token of authority, and honor," the chief lords of Roanoc "wear a chaine of great pearles, or copper beades, or smooth bones about their necks, and a plate of copper hinge upon a stringe, from the navel into the midds of their thighs."¹

Desirable as these articles must have been in the way of dress and ornament, they did not equal in this respect, or in the utilitarian purposes which they served, the shells that were found on the seashore and along the banks of certain fresh water streams. In fact, leaving out of consideration the use of oysters, clams and other molluscs, as food, it is doubtful whether there was any other one material that contributed so much to fill up the measure of the Indian's wants and necessities, as did these shells. Regarded simply from a utilitarian point of view, they will be found to have served him as spoons and drinking vessels. In other shapes, they took the place of knives, tweezers, celts and hoes; and if we may accept the testimony of the mounds, they were also used as hatchets and club heads. Made into beads—one-fourth of an inch long and of proportionate thickness—and hung upon strings or woven into belts, they served as a record of a treaty or of some other transaction that was considered of sufficient importance to be thus perpetuated; and as such they were looked upon as among the most cherished possessions of the tribe, and were preserved in what is termed the public treasury.

Of their use as money, there can be no question, though it is more than probable that the custom came in with the whites. That the Indians manufactured beads of different kinds is, of course, well known; and there can be no doubt as to the value they put upon them, or as to the use that was made of them in the way of barter; but nowhere previous to the arrival of the whites do I find proof that

¹ Harriot's *Narrative*, plate VII.: London, 1893.

they were used as money—meaning by that term a medium of exchange. To be able to do this, presupposes a phase of development which the Indians had not reached; though in this, as in the use of wampum belts for recording events, they were close to the line which is assumed to separate civilization from barbarism.¹

Returning from this digression, and taking up the question of shells as ornaments, the only view of the subject that is permitted to us, we find that in the form of beads of different shapes and sizes, embroidered on their clothes, or worn as necklaces, bracelets, pendants, etc., they were in use throughout the entire region from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the earliest times. Even in Wisconsin, a thousand miles from the ocean, “sea shells were much worn,” and though Carver² did not know how the Indians procured them, yet he makes a shrewd guess when he suggests that it was “by traffic with other tribes nearer the sea.” Exactly how long this traffic had been going on, we do not know. Probably it antedated the arrival of the whites; for when Cartier³ sailed up the St. Lawrence, he found the Indians at Hochelaga, or Montreal as it is now called, making beads of a shell which they took from the river; and in the far South, we are told that among the principal wares in which Cabeça de Vaca⁴ traded, were “cones and other pieces of sea snail, conches used for cutting . . . and sea beads.” Some seventy-five years later, about the time of the settlement at Quebec, the Indians of Canada had ceased to make beads, though the Armouchiquois, as the New England Indians are sometimes called, manufactured necklaces and bracelets out of those

¹ For this account of the uses to which shells were put, see Holmes, in Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. For the statement as to the use of shells as money, I am responsible.

² *Travels*, p. 227: London, 1778.

³ In *Early English Voyages*, Vol. II., pp. 120, 141, 148: Edinburgh, 1889.

⁴ See Note 1, p. 385.

large sea shells called vignols;¹ and if we may credit certain early writers, it was from the Narragansetts, as being the most expert makers of *Wampompeage*, and *Mowhakes*, that "the Northerne, Easterne and Western Indians fetch all their coyne," as well as most of their curious Pendants and Bracelets.² To a certain extent, this statement is true, and yet it is altogether too general to be accepted in its entirety, for the reason that the Indians, everywhere along the Atlantic coast, were engaged in what Roger Williams terms "making money," and they all had more or less intercourse with tribes in the interior. Of the Mohawks, for instance, and tribes living on the Hudson, we are told that "their money is small beads made on the sea side, of shells or cockles, which are found on the shore; and these cockles they grind upon a stone as thin as they wish them, and then drill a small hole through them, and string them on threads, or make bands of them the breadth of a hand or more, which they hang on the shoulders and round the body. They have also divers holes in their ears, from which they hang them; and make caps of them for the head. There are two kinds; the white are the least, and the brown-blue are the most valuable; and they give two white beads for one brown. They call them *Zeewan*, and have as great fancy for them as many christians have for gold, silver and pearls. For our gold they have hardly any desire, and consider it no better than iron."³ Almost without change, this account will apply to the manufacture of these beads all along the coast; and when we reflect upon the labor involved in making them, to say nothing of the beauty of the material, and the variety of figures it was possible to produce by a judicious intermixture of the white and blue beads of shell,

¹ Lescarbot, III., p. 707.

² Wood's *New England's Prospect*, p. 69.

³ De Vries, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, Vol. III., part 1, p. 95. Megapolensis, in same, p. 157.

with others made of hard, black wood like jet,¹ we can understand why it is that, considered as money, you can buy with it "skins, furs, slaves, or anything the *Indians* have; it being the Mammon (as our money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do anything and part with everything they possess, except their children, for slaves. With this they buy off murders; and whatsoever a Man can do that is ill, this Wampum will quit him of, and make him in their opinion, good and vertuous though never so black before."²

Beside beads, which, under the names of wampum, peak, zeewan, runtees, and roanoke, were used to "adorn the persons of their *sagamours* and principal men, and young women, as Belts, girdles, Tablets, Borders for their women's hair, Bracelets, Necklaces, and links to hang in their ears,"³ and "wear about their loynes,"⁴ they made of these shells Tablets or, as we call them, gorgets three or four inches in diameter, "smooth as polished marble, which sometimes have etched on them a "Star, Half moon or other Figure according to the maker's fancy."⁵ Adair,⁶ speaking of the same object, tells us that the American *Archimagus*, as he calls the shaman or medicine-man, "wears a breastplate, made of a white conch shell with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buck-horn white button to the outside of each"; and according to Lawson,⁷ the Indians of Carolina "often-times make of this Shell a sort of Gorge, which they

¹ For beads made of wood, see Lescarbot, p. 707. Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 26: London, 1794.

² Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 194: London, 1718.

³ Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, *loc. cit.*, p. 306.

⁴ *New England's Prospect*, p. 74.

⁵ Beverly, *Virginia*, plate II., p. 229: Amsterdam, 1707.

⁶ *History of American Indians*, p. 84. For use of wampum "at a stated current rate," see p. 170. Williams's Key, chap. Coyne, &c.

⁷ *Carolina*, p. 193.

wear about their neck in a string; so it hangs on their Collar, whereon sometimes is graven a Cross or some odd sort of Figure which comes next in their fancy." To anyone familiar with the Indian's method of ornamentation, it is evident that, in these gorgets, we have one of his chief treasures; and naturally enough, a knowledge of the fact leads to further inquiry into the use or uses, if there be more than one, to which the shell disks were sometimes put. Upon this point a few words may not be out of place.

And first of all, it is probable, from what is said above and from the drawings that have come down to us, that when worn suspended from the neck and resting either on the breast, or stomach, or on both,¹ these shells were used for purposes of decoration, and are therefore to be regarded as ornaments. This is, of course, satisfactory so far as it goes; but unfortunately, it does not explain why they are sometimes etched or engraved on the convex side, whilst the concave, pearl-like side is left perfectly plain, as if it were to be worn next to the body. On the theory that they were intended for ornamental purposes, pure and simple, it would seem as if these conditions ought to have been reversed, as indeed they are in most of the specimens that have been found; and as it is possible they would have been in those of which we speak, if the maker had not had some other object in view besides mere beauty. Moreover, in the arrangement of the holes for suspension—two at the top and one below—there is evidence that it was intended to fasten these shell disks securely, and not leave them dangling loosely from the neck, as was the case with so many others; and when to this we add that in the concave-convex, triangular shape, which they all have, there is

¹ "Une grande coquille de porcelaine qui pend à leur cou, ou sur leur estomac": Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. In plate XIV., *Brevis Narratio*, De Bry, there is a picture of an Indian with two such plates, or what are believed to be such, one above the other.

a resemblance, faint though it be, between them and the *tanga*¹ worn by the women in Brazil, it will be seen that there are grounds for believing that the Indians of our country may have worn them for the same reason that they were sometimes used elsewhere, viz. "to conceal their nakedness." That shells were so used in the West India Islands is well known;² and if we may credit Charlevoix,³ at some time in the distant past, "when savages went naked, they made the same use of shells that our first parents did of fig leaves." Lafitau⁴ repeats this statement in all its vagueness, but he brings it somewhat nearer home by adding that "in many parts of America, shells, either entire or as worked porcelain, are still used in this manner," though it is in the shape of ornaments and as a gratification to their vanity that they are chiefly in demand.

With this suggestion, as to the additional use of what was evidently a leading article in the Indian's toilet, our investigation must come to a close. In it we have endeavored not only to picture the dress and ornaments of our savages, but we have been obliged to examine the materials of which their dresses and ornaments were made, and to describe the arts by which these materials were fitted for their several uses. It has been a laborious task, but fortunately the sources of information were abundant; and whilst it is probable that our treatment of the subject has not been as complete as might have been desired, yet it is believed, that enough has been given to justify us in accepting, as our own, the statement that "from what has been said as to their method of adorning themselves, it

¹ See *Archivos do Museu Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, pp. 433 *et seq.*, for an account of the *tanga*. There are some in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

² Herrera, Stevens's *Translation*, III., p. 412: London, 1740.

³ *Nouvelle France*, V., p. 308: Paris, 1744.

⁴ *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, Vol. II., p. 200: Paris, 1724.

might be inferred that the savages, instead of adding to their personal beauty (for they are, nearly all, well made,) were really trying to render themselves unnatural and hideous. This is true; and yet when they are in full dress, the fantastical arrangement of their ornaments not only has nothing in it that is offensive, but it really possesses a certain charm which is pleasing in itself and makes them appear to great advantage.”¹

¹“De tout ce que je vient de dire de la manière de s’orner, on conclura aisément, que les Sauvages, au lieu d’ajouter à leur beauté naturelle, (car ils sont presque tous bien fait,) travaillent à se rendre laids & à se défigurer. Cela est vrai aussi; cependant quand ils sont bien parez à leur mode, l’assemblage bizarre de tous leurs ornemens, non seulement n’a rien qui choque, mais il a un je ne sçai quoi qui plait, & leur donne de la bonne grace”: Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Tome III., p. 57: Paris, 1724.

EARLY AMERICAN BROADSIDES.

1680-1800.

PREPARED BY NATHANIEL PAINE.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, LL.D., the late librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, in a report presented in April, 1872, called attention to Broad-sides and their value as material for history and said, "they imply a great deal more than they literally express and disclose visions of the interior condition of society such as cannot be found in formal narratives." Dr. Haven, in company with the late Charles Deane, LL.D., had, a few years previously, examined with great interest the large and valuable collection of Broad-sides in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London and in the above mentioned report alludes to it with some particularity.

Mr. W. H. Overall, formerly librarian of the Corporation of London, presented a paper on Broad-sides, at a meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, held in February, 1881, in which he speaks of the valuable collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and of the historical information derived from this class of literature. He also suggests that an index of all collections of this kind would be of great value to historical students.¹

The Boston Public Library has a valuable collection of this class of historical literature, and has from time to time published fac-similes of the more important ones.²

With the report of Dr. Haven in mind, the writer has

¹ A catalogue of the Printed Broad-sides in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, compiled by Robert Lemon, was published in 1866.

² Boston Public Library Bulletins, October, 1892, and January and October, 1893.

looked over the collection of Broad-sides belonging to the American Antiquarian Society and, as supplementary to his "Early American Imprints" presented in October, 1895, has made a list of the American Broad-sides in the Society's library, printed from 1680 to 1800 inclusive, in the hope that it may be of some use to students who have occasion to consult our library.

This list, which includes about two hundred titles, has several of historical interest, notably those printed during the Revolutionary period, there being over sixty issued between 1772 and 1779, most of which were printed at Boston.

The earliest printed broadside found in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, is dated London, 1660; it is a "Proclamation Against Vicious, Debauch'd and Prophan Persons," issued by authority of Charles II. at Whitehall, and printed by Christopher Baker and John Bell, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The earliest American Broadside that has yet come to light is a Proclamation for Fast issued by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1680-1. There is a large collection of this class of Broad-sides, there being nearly one hundred annual Fast and Thanksgiving Proclamations printed before 1800, besides several issued for special occasions, but as all these have been so fully described by our associate, Rev. W. DeLoss Love, Jr., in his "The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England," it was not deemed necessary to include them in the present list.

But few of the Broad-sides mentioned have been given in full, as brief abstracts or shortened titles, it was thought, would furnish the needed information. The collection has been mounted and arranged in chronological order, so that it can be readily consulted.

The Society's collection of Broad-sides printed since 1800 is very large and is being constantly added to; it includes, besides three volumes of ballads and songs published from

1812 to 1816 and preserved by the founder of our Society, a large number of musical and dramatic posters, the Fast and Thanksgiving Proclamations to date, as also many political broadsides of more or less interest.

1680.

Fast Proclamation, April 21 168⁰₁ Cut of Colonial Arms at the top. 8 x 11³₄ inches.

[This is the Earliest American broadside in the Collection of the American Antiquarian Society. It is fully described in "Early American Imprints, 1640-1700," presented at the meeting of the Society in October, 1895.

There are many other Fast Proclamations in the collection, also a number of Thanksgiving Proclamations, but, as already stated, these have been treated of by Rev. W. DeLoss Love, Jr., in his "The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England," and are not included in this list. It may be said in brief that from 1729 to 1800 there are forty-three Fast Proclamations and forty-four Thanksgiving Proclamations belonging to the Society.]

1690.

By The Governour & Council. Whereas some have lately presumed to Print and Disperse a Pamphlet Entituled, Publick Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick: Boston, Thursday, Septemb. 25th, 1690. Without the least Privy or Countenance of Authority.

The Governour and Council having had the perusal of the said Pamphlet, and finding that therein is contained Reflections of a very high nature: As also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports, do hereby manifest and declare their high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet, and order that the same be Suppressed and called in; strictly forbidding any person or persons for the future to Set forth any thing in Print without Licence first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same.

By Order of the Governour & Council

Boston, September 29th. 1690.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secr.

8 x 7¹₂.

["Publick Occurrences." The first and only number of this publication was dated Boston, Thursday, Sept. 25, 1690. "Printed by R.

Pierce for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House, 1690." Samuel A. Green, LL D., gives a copy of it in the *Historical Magazine*, for August, 1857, and also a full account of the sheet with a fac-simile reproduction in the *Boston Daily Globe*, March 4, 1897.]

1701.

Wednesday January 1, 1701. A little before the Break-a-day at Boston of . . . Massachusetts.

"Once more! Our God, vouchsafe to Shine
Tame Thou the Rigour of our Clime.
Make haste with thy Impartial Light,
And terminate this long dark Night.

Let the transplanted English Vine
Spread further still: still call it Thine:
Prune it with Skill: to yield it can

More Fruit to Thee the Husbandman." $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$.

[Four more verses. No place or date of printing given. For the poem in full (which was written by Chief Justice Samuel Sewall), with remarks by Samuel A. Green, LL.D., see Proceedings Mass. Historical Society, 2d Series I. (1884), 13-14.]

1703.

[English Coat of Arms.]

Province of the Massachusetts Bay. By His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, in and over Her Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire* in *New-England* in *America*, and Vice Admiral of the same. A Declaration Against the *Pennicooke* and *Eastern* Indians. [Declares], "the said Indians of *Pennicooke* and of the *Eastern* Parts of this Province, with their Confederates to be Rebels and Enemies against Our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne, Her Crown and Dignity, and to be out of Her Majesties Protection," &c., &c.

Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, Printers to His Excellency the Governour and Council. 1703.

11 x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1704.

[English Coat of Arms.]

Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*. By his Excellency, The Governour, Council and Assembly of the

said Province. A Declaration, Against Prophaneness and Immoralities, &c., &c.

Given at Boston, the Twenty-fourth day of March, 1703. In the third year of Her Majesties Reign. By Order of His Excellency, Council & Assembly.

J. DUDLEY.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secr.

God Save the Queen.

Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green, Printer to His Excellency the Governour and Council. 1704. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$.

1714.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By His Excellency, Joseph Dudley Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, in and over Her Majesties Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay* and *New-Hampshire* in *New-England*.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas His Excellency *Francis Nicholson* Esq; Her Majesties Commissioner for Enquiring into the Publick Accompts, within Her Majesties respective Governments and Plantations in *North America*, Having passed through the Examination (so far as has appeared) of the Seven *Muster Rolls* of the *New-England* Troops, that were left at *Annapolis Royal*, in Her Majesties Service there, from the Tenth of *October* 1710. to Tenth of *October* 1711. under the Command of, Sir *Charles Hobbey*, Knight, Major *Gilbert Abbot*, Major *Paul Mascarene*, Capt. *Samuel Templer*, Capt. *John Robertson*, Capt. *David Pigeon* and Capt. *James Abercrombe*, &c. [Calls upon those concerned to offer their Complaints and Objections thereto, &c. Requires the Justices of the several Inferior Courts to receive all such complaints, &c.]

Boston: Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Excellency the Governour & Council. 1714. 12×14 .

1717.

A Divine Discourse, representing the Soul of a Believer Speaking by *Faith*, according to the Doctrine of the *Scriptures*.

By Thomas Loe Late of Stoake, near Market-Drayton in Shropshire.

London: Printed for J Marshall; Price there 2*d*. New London: Re-printed and Sold by T. Green;—Price here 3*d*. 1717. 12 x 15.

[This consists of numerous quotations from Scripture.]

1729.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By the Honourable William Dummer Esq; Lieut. Governour & Commander in Chief, in & over His Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, &c. A Proclamation for Proroguing the General Assembly, &c. By order of the Honourable the Lient. Governour, with the Advice of the Council,
W. DUMMER.

JOSIAH WILLARD, Secr.

God save the King.

Boston: Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Honour the Lient Governour and Council. 1729. 8 x 12.

Postscript to the Boston Weekly News-Letter, Thursday, April 3d, 1729. The Speech of His Excellency William Burnet, Esq; Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in New-England, &c. To the Great and General Court or Assembly of the said Province, met at Salem, Wednesday, April 2d, 1729.

Boston: Printed and Sold by B. Green, in Newbury-Street, 1729. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1732.

Father Ab—y's Will. To which is now added A letter of Courtship to his virtuous and amiable Widow.

Cambridge, Dec. 1731.

Some time since died here, Mr. Matthew Ab—y, in a very advanced age. He had for a great Number of Years served the College in Quality of Bedmaker and Sweeper. [Then follows in comic verse the will.]

Newhaven, January 2, 1731.

Our Sweeper having lately buried his Spouse, and accidentally hearing of the death and will of his deceased Cambridge brother, has conceived a violent passion for the relict, &c., &c.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 19$.

[The will is said to have been written by John Seecombe, afterwards a settled minister at Harvard, and the letter of courtship by Col. John Hubbard of New Haven. John Seecombe was the first minister of Harvard, Mass. He graduated at Cambridge in 1728, and died at Nova Scotia in 1793.]

Another Version of the Will is arranged in fourteen verses and the letter of Courtship in eleven.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$.

Also one printed in Salem.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 14$.

Another Version of the same, entitled Old Timothy Jobson.

$5\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$.

[In MS. at the top of broadside. "The following was wrote by John Seecombe of Medford in the County of Middlesex Massachusetts Bay in New England on Father Abbey, Bedmaker with his wife & sweeper of Massachusetts Colledge, com'ly called New College, in the Autumn of the year 1731 all of whom S Curwen personally knew."]

1733.

The Declaration, Dying Warning and Advice of Rebekah Chamblit, A Young Woman Aged near Twenty-seven Years, Executed at Boston September 27th 1733, &c., &c., being found Guilty of Felony, in concealing the Birth of her spurious Male Infant &c., afterwards found Dead, &c.

Boston: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland and T Green, in Queen-street. Black border.

$12 \times 15\frac{1}{4}$.

1737.

The Confession and Dying Warning of Hugh Henderson, Who was Executed at Worcester, in the County of Worcester, Nov. 26, 1737. [Also] "A Poem Occasioned by the untimely Death of Hugh Henderson, alias John Hamilton, who was Hanged at Worcester for House-Breaking, Nov. 24, 1737."

Boston: Printed and Sold at the Printing House in Queen Street over against the Prison.

$12\frac{3}{4} \times 16$.

[This was the first Execution in Worcester County, after its foundation in 1731. Brief notices announcing the event appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* of September 26, 1737, *Boston News Letter*, September 29, and a notice of the execution in the *New England Weekly Journal* for December 6 of same year. Henderson was first sentenced to be hung in October, but the Court Records show that the Execution did not take place till November 24. He was tried and sentenced as John Hamilton, but afterwards gave the name of John Henderson as being the true one.¹ A sermon was preached before the execution by Rev. John Campbell of Oxford.

In the Confession the date of Execution is given as Nov. 26th, while in the poem Nov. 24th is given, the first named is probably a typographical error, as Nov. 24 is, according to the *New England Weekly Journal* of Dec. 6, 1737, which published an account of the Execution dated Worcester, Nov. 26, 1737, the correct date.]

1740.

By His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq; Captain General and Governour in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas a Scheme for emitting Bills or Notes by John Colman, Esq; and others, was laid before the Great and General Court or Assembly of this His Majesty's Province, in their session held at Boston, the Fifth Day of December 1739, and by the Report of a Committee appointed by said Court was represented, if carried on, to have a great Tendency to endamage His Majesty's good Subjects as to their Properties;

And whereas Application has been very lately made to Me and His Majesty's Council, by a great Number of Men of the most considerable Estates and Business, praying that some proper Method may be taken to prevent the Inhabitants of this Province being imposed upon by the said Scheme; and it being very apparent that these Bills or Notes promise nothing of any determinate Value, and cannot have any general certain or established Credit; Wherefore,

I have thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Maj-

¹ Clark Jillson on "The Death Penalty."

esty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby giving Notice and Warning to all His Majesty's good Subjects of the Danger they are in, and cautioning them against receiving or passing the said Notes, as tending to defraud Men of their Substance, and to disturb the Peace and good Order of the People, and to give great Interruption, and bring much Confusion into their Trade and Business.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, the Seventeenth Day of July 1740. In the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Second by the Grace of GOD of Great Britain, France and Ireland, KING Defender of the Faith, &c.

J. BELCHER.

By Order of His Excellency the Governour, with the Advice of the Council,

J. WILLARD, Secr.

God save the King.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$.

[This is followed by an address signed by about 130 merchants of Boston and vicinity, warning the public against the Land Bank scheme and advising them not to take or use the bills issued under that scheme, and agreeing themselves to refuse all such bills. Among the signers are John Osborne, Edward Hutchinson, James Bowdoin, Peter Fanenil, Andrew Oliver, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Hancock, Cornelius Waldo, Thomas Hutchinson, and Edmund Quincy. Closing with, "It is hoped, That Masters and Mistresses of Family's will caution their Servants from taking in exchange or otherwise, any of said Bills if offered them, as such a thing may serve to give 'em an entrance into Credit, which would prove of dangerous consequence."]

1745.

[English Coat of Arms.]

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, ss. William Foye, Esq. ; Treasurer & Receiver-General of His Majesty's said Province, To Mr. *Jacob Child* Constable or Collector of the Town of *Woodstock* Greeting, &c., &c. An order to collect taxes. Signed in MS. Wm. Foye. Boston, the Sixth Day of November, 1745.

12 x 15.

[The names of the constable and the town are in manuscript.]

1750.

Advertisement. Whereas the Plymouth Proprietors (so called) have impowered *John North*, Lieut. of Pemaquid Fort, and *Samuel Goodwin* of Charlestown, to survey large

Tracts of Lands at the Eastern Parts of this Province, &c. [And claiming that the Plymouth Title is the only true Title to be depended upon, &c. [Signed] Boston, March 7. 1750. By Order of the Proprietors, James Halsey, Clerk. Also an "Extract from the Plymouth Patent" in regard to the land "which lieth within or between and extendeth itself from the utmost Limits of *Cobbetsecontee* alias *Comasecontee*, which adjoineth to the River of Kenebeck" &c., &c.] 8 x 13.

1751.

Advertisement. "Whereas by some late Advertisements, it *may be understood that Lieutenant John North, and Mr. Samuel Goodwin, in their late Survey, have exceeded the Limits of the Patent granted by the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New-England in America, to the late Colony of Plymouth, and by them to Antipas Boyes, and others,*" &c., &c. By Order of the Proprietors. Boston, May 1. 1751.

[Signed]

William Brattle,
Robert Temple,
William Bowdoine,
David Jeffries,
Thomas Marshall,

Committee.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12.

[This is in regard to the lands on "each side of the Kennebeck, and the said River to the Western Ocean," &c., &c.]

1754.

Advertisement. In regard to grant of land on Kennebeck River, at Frankfort near Richmond, at which place, a Saw Mill and Grist Mill have been erected and about 40 families settled, &c. [Signed] Robert Temple, Sylvester Gardiner, Benjamin Hollowell, William Bowdoin, James Bowdoin. Boston, Jan. 2. 1754. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12.

[A grant of one hundred acres of land was offered to every family who should settle there.]

1755.

The Lawer's [*sic.*] Pedigree. Tune, Our Polly, &c. Boston :
Printed and Sold below the Mill-Bridge. 1755. 8 x 12.

[This is doggerel rhyme, and only of interest from the statement in manuscript on the back: "Printed from the Types which Isaiah Thomas first set for the Press, which was in the spring of 1755, being then but six years of age."]

[English Coat of Arms.]

By His Honour Spencer Phips, Esq; Lieutenant-Governour and
Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of
the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Tribe of *Penobscot* Indians have repeatedly in a
perfidious Manner acted contrary to their solemn Submission
unto His Majesty long since made and frequently renewed ;
&c.

Nov. 3, 1755. By His Honour's Command,

J. WILLARD, Secer.

Boston: Printed by John Draper, Printer to His Honour the
Lieutenant-Governour and Council. 1755. 12½ x 15.

[Offers premium or bounty for "the capture of every Male Penobscot Indian above the age of Twelve and brought to Boston, Fifty Pounds. For every scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the age aforesaid, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Forty Pounds. For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, Twenty-five Pounds. For every Scalp of such Female or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be killed and brought in as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds."]

1756.

Boston, May 13, 1756. To be seen (for a short Time) at the
House of Mr. William Fletcher, Merchant, New-Boston ;
That Elaborate and Matchless Pile of Art, Called, The
Microcosm, or the World in Miniature. Built in the Form
of a Roman Temple, after Twenty-two Years Close Study
and application, by the late ingenious Mr. Henry Bridges of
London, &c., &c.

It will be shown every Day, exactly at Eleven o'clock in
the Morning, and again at Three and Five in the Afternoon,

at Four Shillings and Sixpence each, and Children under Twelve Years of age at Three Shillings (Lawful Money) though Prices quite inferior to the Expenses and Merits of this Machine.

N. B. Any Person subscribing Thirteen Shillings, and sixpence, will be entitled to see the *Microcosm* at the above Hours, during its Stay in Boston. Tickets to be had of Edes & Gill in Queen-Street and at the above Mr. Fletcher.

$6\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By the Honourable Spencer Phips, Esq; Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief, &c., &c. A Proclamation. [In regard to prohibiting] the Exportation of Provisions and Warlike Stores out of this Province, &c.

[Signed] S. PHIPS.

God Save the King.

Boston: Printed by John Draper, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour and Council. 1756. 12 x 15.

1757.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By the Honourable His Majesty's Council, For the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

A PROCLAMATION.

Boston, April 18, 1757. [Signed] Wm. Pepperell, Joseph Pyncheon, John Otis, Thomas Hutchinson, Stephen Sewall, Isaac Royall, John Erving, Rich^d Cutt, Wm. Brattle, J. Osborne, Jacob Wendell, Jno. Cushing, Danl. Russell, Saml. Watts, John Hill, John Chandler, A. Oliver.

Boston: Printed by John Draper, Printer to the Honourable His Majesty's Council, 1757. 12 x 15.

[Strictly forbidding "all Masters or Owners of any Ships or Vessels within the Province to suffer any such Ships or Vessels, without special permission from His Majesty's Council or the Major part of them, to depart out of the same, or to proceed to any of the Fishing-Banks until the Tenth of May next; unless this Prohibition or Embargo shall before the said Tenth day of May next, be declared void and of no further effect," &c., &c.]

1759.

The Strange and Wonderful Predictions of Mr. Christopher Love, Minister of the Gospel at Lawrence-Jury, London; who was beheaded on Tower Hill in the Time of *Oliver Cromwell's* Government of *England*: Giving an Account of *Babylon's* Fall, &c., &c. Printed and Sold by Fowle and Draper, at their Printing-Office in Marlborough street. 1759. 12 x 15.

Illustrissimo ac sublimi Virtute, optimaque Eruditione, ornatissimo Viro. Thomæ Pownall, Armigero, Provinciæ Massachusettensis Gubernatori, Marisque Contermini Vice-Admirallo insignissimo; &c. Provinciæ Massachusettensis consultissimis: Reverendo pariter atquæ honorando D. Edvardo Holyoke, Collegij-Harvardini Præside, &c. Theses hasce, quas (Divino annuente Numine) in Collegio-Harvardino defendere, pro Virili propugnare, conabuntur Juvenes in Artibus initiati, &c. . . . Habita in Comitiis Academicis, Cantabrigiæ, *Nov-Anglorum*, Decimo-quinto Calendarum Sextilis, Anno M,DCCLIX. [Boston.] 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 20.

1760.

George the II. Reigns.—[Portrait] King George II.—Pitt is Secretary of State. Amherst goes on conquering. Wolfe conquer'd Quebeck, and died uttering these words, "Now I am satisfy'd!" Successful Expeditions in America. 1759. A new Song on the Successes of the Year past, against the French, more particularly in America. An Earnest Address to the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts on the Death of General Wolfe. Also a Song "Canada for Ever," and another on the "Reductions of Ticonderoga, Niagara, Crown Point," &c. Printed at Portsmouth New-Hampshire. 17 x 22.

[No date, but probably printed about 1760 by Daniel Fowle, who began printing in Portsmouth in 1756.]

1761.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; Captain-General and

Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, and Vice Admiral of the same.

A PROCLAMATION

For raising 3000 men to be under the command of Gen. Amherst, &c. Boston, April 21, 1761.

Boston: Printed by John Draper, Printer to His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable His Majesty's Council, 1761.

13 x 16.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay. By His Excellency the Captain General. It is Ordered That every Captain of the Forces now to be raised, shall make Return of the Men inlisted by him and his Subalterns, within three Weeks from his receiving Beating Orders, &c., &c. Boston, April 21, 1761.

[Signed in MS.] FRA BERNARD.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{8}$.

[Refers to bounties to be paid to troops, this particular broadside being directed to Col. John Tyng, authorizing him to pay a "Bounty of £5, 5s. & 4d. to each Man who shall inlist into the Provincial Regiments," &c., &c.]

1762.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay. An Act For rendering more effectual the Laws already made relating to Shingles, and for regulating the Assize of Staves, Hoops, and Clapboards. Passed June 1762.

$6\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$.

1763.

Advertisement. The Proprietors of the Kennebeck Purchase from the late Colony of New-Plymouth, &c. In regard to Townships and land on Kennebeck River, &c. [Signed] James Bowdoin, Sylvester Gardiner, James Pitts, Benjamin Hallowell, Esquires at Boston, and William Bowdoin, Esqr; at Needham The Committee of Proprietors. Boston, May 18. 1763.

[Signed] By Order of the Committee,

DAVID JEFFRIES, Proprietors Clerk.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 13$.

1765.

“To the Publick.” A Dramatic Notice. Charlestown, Nov. 4, 1765 [Signed] I have the honour to be the Publick’s Most obedient, Most devoted, and Most humble servant.

D. DOUGLASS.

10½ x 15½.

[This is a notice by David Douglass of his intention to bring a theatrical company from the Barbados, to unite with his Company from London. He speaks of his “motives for planning an Entertainment this Winter, which I flatter myself, would not have been *altogether unworthy* the attention of so respectable and judicious an audience as the ladies and gentlemen of Carolina compose.” He proposes to employ “artificers to refit the Theatre, and make such commodions and elegant alterations, as the construction of it would admit” &c. He regrets, that word has been received from Barbados that the Company cannot leave “that island before the end of March,” &c. Some ladies and gentlemen insisting however that he should open the theatre with the Company brought from London, he gives notice that he will do so, regretting that he cannot give as “sumptuous a bill of fare” as he would like to do, but was “obliged to submit, as there is nothing a Carolina audience can ask, that I dare refuse.” He announces that he shall “proceed with the utmost despatch to refit the Theatre” which he hopes “will be in proper order to receive an audience on Monday the 11th instant; when by *permission* of his honour the Lieutenant Governor, he proposes to open it, with a *Play* and *Farce*, which will be expressed in the bills of the day.”

David Douglass, who maintained a dramatic company in America for fifteen or more years, married the widow of Lewis Hallam, who, at Williamsburg, Va., in September, 1752, was the manager of the first regular company of players that appeared in this country.

Dunlap in his “History of the American Theatre” says the first theatre in Charleston was built in 1773, and Seilhamer in his “History of the American Theatre before the Revolution” makes the same statement. From this broadside it would appear there must have been a building there known as the Theatre some eight years earlier.

Neither Dunlap or Seilhamer allude to Douglass as being at Charleston as early as 1765, although the latter gives a detailed notice of him and his appearance at various places from 1758 to 1775. Seilhamer says a theatre was built at Charleston for Douglass’s “American Company” in 1773.]

[English Coat of Arms.]

Province of Massachusetts-Bay. The Honourable Harrison

Gray, Esq; Treasurer and Receiver-General for His Majesty's said Province.

To *Eleazer Davis* Constable and Collector of *Holden* [an order to collect taxes]. Boston, 28 October, 1765

[Signed in MS.] H GRAY.

12 x 15.

[The names of the constable and the town are in manuscript.]

1767.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; Captain General, &c.
A BRIEF.

[Recommending] "all persons living within the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire to exercise their Christian Benevolence by contributing in Proportion to their Means with which God has blessed them to the relief" of certain suffering inhabitants of a place called Nobletown, lying to the Westward of the line supposed to be the boundary line between this Province and the Province of New York, who by "Reason of certain Disputes concerning the Right to the Lands occupied by the said Inhabitants, the Tenements, Goods and Chattles, &c. have been so destroyed that they have scarcely any of the necessities of life," &c., &c. Desires the Ministers of the several Churches to read the Brief to their Congregations, &c.

Boston, 18 March 1767

Boston: Printed by Richard Draper, Printer to His Excellency the Governour, and Council, 1767.

13 x 16.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and others Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, legally assembled at Faneuil-Hall, on Wednesday the 28th of October, 1767. Called to consider the petition of a number of Inhabitants "That some effectual Measures might be agreed upon to promote Industry, Oeconomy, and Manufactures; thereby to prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin:" &c., &c.

[Signed] WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk.

8 x 13.

Whereas this Province labours under a heavy Debt, incurred in the Course of the late War; and the Inhabitants by this Means must be for some Time subject to very burthensome Taxes:—And as our Trade has for some Years been on the decline, and is now particularly under great Embarrassments, &c., &c. We the Subscribers Do promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the Use and Consumption of all Articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province; that we will not, from and after the 31st of December next ensuing, purchase any of the following Articles, imported from Abroad. [Then follows a list of articles, including Loaf Sugar, Anchors, Coaches, Horse Furniture, Gold and Silver, Thread Lace, Diamond and Stone and Paste Ware, Silks of all Kinds for Garments, and many others. Also agree to “adhere”] to the late Regulations respecting Funerals, and will not use any Gloves but what are Manufactured here, nor procure any new Garments upon such occasions, &c., &c. Boston, October 28, 1767. 8 x 10.

1768.

[English Coat of Arms.]

To the Readers of the South Carolina & American General Gazette. January 1, 1768. [Signed] NATHAN B. CHILD.

7 x 12½.

[Newsboy's poetical New Year's Address.]

Resolves passed by the Hon. House of Representatives in regard to the suppression of Extravagance, Idleness and Vice and promoting Industry, Economy, and good morals also to discountenance the use of foreign superfluities, &c.

Feb'y 20 1768.

6½ x 14½

[The yeas and nays are given on this vote. Among the yea votes are the names of Hon. Thomas Cushing, Hon. James Otis, Jun. Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, & John Hancock. That of Hon. Timothy Ruggles is given as the only nay.]

[English Coat of Arms.]

By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; Captain General, &c.
A BRIEF.

Boston: Printed by Richard Draper, Printer to His Excellency the Governor, &c., &c. 1768. 13½ x 16½.

[Relates to a fire in Montreal, by which eighty-eight Houses were burnt down and above one hundred families turned into the streets, &c., &c. Calls for Contributions to relieve the distress and asks the Ministers to read the Brief to their Congregations.]

Postscript to the Boston News-Letter, August 25, 1768.

An Account of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Fourteenth of August by the Sons of Liberty of Boston.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$.

The following was unanimously agreed upon as the Result of the Conference and Consultation of the Committees chosen by a Number of Towns and Districts, viz. Ninety-six Towns and Eight Districts conven'd at Boston the Twenty-Second Day of September, 1768.

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes & Gill, in Queen-Street, 1768.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 15$.

[Relates to a petition to Gov. Bernard, which he had declined to receive, asking him to convene a General Assembly of the Representative Body of the People. They object to a standing army which they look upon as dangerous to their civil liberty, &c.]

Copy of the Commission of Jared Ingersoll, Esq; Judge of the High Court of Admiralty at Philadelphia. Also, a Letter directed to said Judge. Worthy the Perusal of every American. [Signed] Russell. Taken from the Pennsylvania Journal.

18×23 .

A Letter from a Gentleman at a Distance to his Friend at Court. April 26, 1768.

[Signed] A DISSENTER.

pp. 2. 8×14 .

[This refers to the right of the British Parliament to lay Taxes on the Colonies and to raise a revenue, &c., &c., and is in answer to a letter signed A Farmer.]

Questiones Pro Modulo Discutiendæ Sub Reverendo D. Edvardo Holyoke, Collegij-Harvardini, Quod est Divinâ Providentiâ Cantabrigiæ, Nov-Anglorum, Præsides, In Comitibus publicis à Laureæ Magistralis Candidatis, Decimo tertio Calendas Sextilis, Ano MDCCLXVIII. His Succedit *Oratio Valedictoria*.

Typis Richardi Draper. In Papyrum *Miltoni* in Nov-Angliâ confectam.

$13\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$.

[Four rough wood-cuts of horses.]

Advertisement. [Dated] South-Carolina October 1768. Seventy Dollars Reward. Strayed or stolen from my Plantation on Ashley-River, the 7th Day of October instant, Three Mares with Foal, &c.

[Signed] JOHN IZARD.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$.

Proposal for Carrying on a Manufacture in Town of Boston, for Supplying the Poor of said Town, &c., &c. March 1, 1768

[Signed] JOHN BARRETT and four others.

Approved and recommended by the Selectmen of Boston Joseph Jackson, Samuel Sewall, John Ruddock, John Hancock, William Phillips, Timothy Newell, & John Rowe.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$.

[This is a proposition to revive the manufacture of Duck or Sail Cloth, and that the Government grant the use of the Manufactory-House in Boston for that purpose. Not strictly a broadside, part of the matter being carried over to the other side of paper.]

The Confession and Declaration of George Burns, Now a Prisoner in Charles-Town Gaol, Convicted of the Robbery of Mr. John Scott, which he voluntarily makes concerning the said Robbery, &c.

Printed by John Hugar Van Huerin, at his Printing-Office in King Street. [Charles-Town.] pp. 2. 8×12 .

The Life, and dying *Speech* of *Arthur*, a Negro Man; who was executed at Worcester, October 20th 1768. Heavy black border. [Dated.] Worcester Gaol, Oct. 18, 1768.

Boston: Printed and Sold in Milk Street, 1768. $13 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$.

[Rev. Thaddens Maccarty preached a sermon on the execution, entitled "The power and grace of Christ displayed to a dying malefactor."]

1769.

[English Coat of Arms.]

South-Carolina. By his Excellency the Right Honorable Lord Charles-Greville Montagu, Captain-General and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesty's said Province, Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. A Proclamation: Proroguing the General Assembly June 16, 1769.

Charlestown. Printed by Robert Wells.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$.

Articles of Agreement relative to the Whale-Fishery. Boston
Feby 10 1769. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$.

[Stores agreed upon as necessary for a whaling voyage.]

1770.

[English Coat of Arms.]

By the Honorable Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

A BRIEF.

Asking for contributions to aid widows and orphans of the town of Marblehead, who have been made destitute by reason of the loss at sea since January 1768 of Twenty four sail of fishing & merchant vessels in which 127 men and boys perished.

Given at Cambridge, the 12th day of June, 1770, In the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, &c.

T. HUTCHINSON

By His Honor's Command,

A. OLIVER, Secr'y.

Boston: Printed by Richard Draper, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Honorable His Majesty's Council, 1770. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 17$.

[The ministers of the several societies for Religious Worship are asked to read the Brief to their Congregations.]

- A Funeral Elegy On the Revd. and Renowned George Whitefield, Chaplain to the Right Honorable the Countess of Huntingdon, &c. Who departed this Life at Newbury-Port, on Sabbath Morning the 30th Day of September, 1770. Æt. 56.

Boston: Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Milk Street MDCCLXX. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$.

[Coffin with Skull and Bones.]

- A Funeral Hymn, Composed by that eminent Servant of the Most High God, the late Reverend and Renowned George Whitefield, Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Hunt-

ingdon, &c., &c. Who departed this Life in full Assurance of a Better, on Lord's Day, the Thirtieth of September, 1770, at 6 o'clock in the Morning, of a sudden Fit of the Asthma, at Newbury-Port.—This Hymn was designed to have been Sung over his Corpse, by the Orphans belonging to his Tabernacle in London, had this truly great, pious, and learned Man died there. [Twelve verses, with black border.] $12\frac{1}{2} \times 15$.

Phillis's Poem on the Death of Mr. Whitefield. At top is a quaint cut of a preacher in the pulpit, &c. On same sheet "Bedlam Garland" ten verses, and the "Spinning Wheel" six verses. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$.

[No date or place of printing.]

1771.

[Small Cut of St. George and the Dragon.]

Old England's Triumph: Sung at the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of St. George, In New-York, April 23d, 1771. (Tune, Hail England, Old England, &c.) [Ten verses with Chorus, "Huzza, happy Britons, whom *Neptune* secures; For a Monckton, Gage, Draper, and Amherst, are yours." The words of the chorus change for each verse.]

$10\frac{3}{4} \times 16$.

[In MS. on the back, "Sung at the Commerce Chamber in New York, April 23 1771 by a number of the principle people of the town, William Lewis, Below Tavern."]

1772.

Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1772.

$17\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$.

[A sheet Almanac, with the Calendar, as printed in "The Massachusetts Calendar for the Year 1772." Printed at Boston by Isaiah Thomas. Imperfect.]

Just Published, and to be Sold By John Dunlap, at the Newest Printing-Office, in Market-Street, Philadelphia, Father Abraham's Almanack, For the Year 1772. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$.

[This is a large broadside with ornamental border; it gives the table of contents, and announces that "Said Dunlap performs Printing in its various branches, in a neat and correct manner, with care and expedition. Of whom may be had, a variety of Books & Stationary."]

The Carrier of the Massachusetts Spy, Wishes all his Kind Customers A Merry Christmas, and A Happy New Year.

Boston, January 1, 1772.

5 x 12½.

[A rhyming address in four verses to the patrons of the paper.]

A Monumental Inscription on the Fifth of March. Together with a few Lines On the Enlargement of Ebenezer Richardson, Convicted of Murder.

7½ x 11½.

[Cut of the Massacre, after Revere's engraving. No date, but supposed to have been printed in March, 1772.]

Boston, November 20, 1772. An Address of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Boston to the Selectmen of the various towns.

[Signed] WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

14¼ x 15.

[In relation to "affixing Stipends, or Salaries from the Crown to the Offices of the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, making them not only intirely independent of the People, whose Lives and Fortunes are so much in their Power, but absolutely dependent on the Crown both for their appointment and support." This was addressed to the Selectmen of Concord.]

An Address to the True-born Sons of Liberty in the Government of the Massachusetts-Bay. No date.

[Signed] A COUNTRYMAN.

9½ x 14¼.

[The names of thirty-two gentlemen are given as representatives of various towns, among them being Joseph Williams, Roxbury, Andrew Oliver, Salem, Joseph Lee, Cambridge, Abel Lawrence, Groton, Timothy Dwight, Northampton, Timothy Ruggles, Hardwick, &c. The date is given in MS. on the back as "about 1772."]

Just Published, Embellished with four Plates, neatly engraved, viz. The Boston Massacre, The four Seasons, with the Twelve Signs of the Zodiack.—The King of Denmark.—Jonathan Weatherwise.—Price 22s. 6d. Old Tenor the Dozen, and seven Coppers single. Printed on much larger Paper than Almanacks commonly are, &c. The Massachusetts Calender, or an Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1772. Boston, Printed and sold by Isaiah Thomas, in Union street, near the Market.

9½ x 15.

Rules and Orders to be observed by the Union Society, Founded, in Boston, the Twenty-fifth of November, MDCCLXXII. Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, to visit this Town with Fire; and considering ourselves at all Times subject to the like Calamity, We the Subscribers, for the more speedy and effectual Assistance of each other, in securing our Substance at such a Time, do promise and engage a due Observation of the following Articles, viz. 15 x 18½.

[Then follow nineteen articles, with the names of Edward Rumney, Middle Street, John Coolidge, Stillhouse Square, Edward Dean, South End above the Hay Market, James Lanman, North Latin School Lane, and others, with their "places of abode and their stores, shops," &c.]

1773.

The Boston Almanack For the Year of Our Lord God, 1773.

Boston: Printed and Sold by Isaiah Thomas. The Heaven's a Book, the Stars are Letters fair, God is the Writer, Men the Readers are. 17½ x 19½.

[This is a large broadside with the calendar for the year, the Eclipses, &c., List of the Princes of Europe and various other information.]

Boston, March 30th, 1773. By Direction of the Committee of Correspondence for the Town of Boston, I now transmit to you an attested Copy of the Proceedings of said Town on the 8th Instant, and am with due Respect,

Your most humble Servant,

WILLIAM COOPER, Clerk of the Committee.

At a legal meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, at Faneuil Hall, on Monday the 8th of March, 1773, and continued by adjournment to the 23d instant, Mr. Samuel Adams acquainted the Moderator, that he was directed by a Committee (of which he was Chairman) to make a report, &c. . . . "The Committee appointed to Consider what is proper to be done, to vindicate the town from the gross Misrepresentation and groundless Charges in his Excellency's Message to both houses" of the General Assembly, &c. [Report] That having carefully looked over the several speeches of the Governor of the province . . . find that his Excellency has plainly *insinu-*

ated; &c. [Then follows a four-column report closing with the acceptance by the Meeting, “*Nemine Contradicente*,” and an order that it “be recorded in the town’s book, as the sense of the inhabitants,” &c.]

Printed by Isaiah Thomas, by Order of the Town of Boston.

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[A fac-simile was printed in the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, July, 1893.]

Boston, April 9, 1773. “The Committee of Correspondence of this Town have received the following Intelligence, &c., &c., Congratulations, “Upon the Acquisition of such respectable Aid as the ancient and patriotic Province of Virginia, the Earliest Resolvers against the detestable Stamp-Act, &c., &c. [Signed] WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

To the Town Clerk of *Worcester* to be immediately delivered to the Committee of Correspondence, &c., &c.

9 x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$.

[A fac-simile of this broadside is given in the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, July, 1893.]

An Address of the Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston. Boston, September 21, 1773.

7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Sent to the Committee of Correspondence in the several towns and relates to “the signs of the times” &c., desires to excite in the people “that Watchfulness which will alone be a Guard against a false Security,” &c., &c. This one was directed to the town of Colrain.]

The last Words and Dying Speech of Levi Ames, who was Executed at Boston, on Thursday the 21st Day of October, 1773, for Burglary. Taken from his own Mouth and Published at his desire as a Solemn Warning to all, &c. [Black border.]

Boston: Printed and Sold at the Shop opposite the Court-House in Queen-Street.

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 19.

[Levi Ames was tried and condemned for breaking into a house in Dock Square. “He was every Sabbath carried through the streets with chains about his ankles and handcuffed, in custody of the sheriff’s officers and constables, to some public meeting, attended by an innumerable company of boys, women and men.”—The Memorial History of Boston.]

Boston. December 1, 1773. Votes passed at a Meeting of the People of Boston, and the Neighbouring Towns at Faneuil Hall, in said Boston, Monday November 29 1773.

Printed by Edes & Gill.

13½ x 17.

[This is in relation to "the most proper and effectual method to prevent the unloading, receiving or vending the detestable Tea sent out by the East India Co. part of which has just arrived in the Harbour." Various votes of the town in regard to it are given.

A fac-simile will be found in the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, October, 1892.]

"Nos Conserva, Deus; Nam Tibi Confidimus.

"These Presents Witness That we who have hereunto subscribed, do promise as Neighbours and Friends to each other, That in Case it should please Almighty GOD, to permit the breaking out of FIRE, in Boston, (where we live) that then we will help each other, as Need shall require, and them first that are most in Danger: And for a more effectual Prosecution of so good a Design, we agree to the following ARTICLES, viz."

11½ x 12.

[Then follow eleven articles, under which are the words, "N. B. This Society was founded 1717 and the Articles corrected and revised March 4th 1773." A similar society founded at Worcester, Mass., in 1793, still retains its organization.]

An Address of Freeholders of the First Precinct in Roxbury in relation to being set off to the third Precinct, &c. Gives reason therefor, &c.

15½ x 19½.

[Four columns with copy of a petition sent to the General Court in 1743.]

Whereas the Great and General Court were pleased at their last Session to appoint a Committee, to whom they referr'd the Petition of several who had petitioned to be set off from the first to the third Precinct in Roxbury, &c.

15½ x 19½.

[Then follows the petition in three columns, also names, and amount of taxes of several persons affected by the change, &c.]

1774.

The Boston Sheet Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord God, 1774.

Boston: Printed and Sold by I. Thomas, near the Market; and by Mills and Hicks, in School Street. [Price, Six-Pence.]

18 x 23.

[At the top is a large cut of a war canoe of New Zealand and two heads of savages.—Then follows the Calendar, Eclipses, holidays at the Custom Houses in America and Vacations at Harvard College.]

[Report of] The Committee appointed by the Town of Boston to receive Donations for the Charitable purpose of relieving and employing the Poor, suffering by means of the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Boston Port Bill, &c., &c.

Boston, Sept. 22, 1774.

9½ x 15.

[The Committee consisted of twenty-six persons, among whom were Samuel Adams, Thomas Boylston, Dr. Joseph Warren, John Adams, Josiah Quincy, Thomas Cushing, Benjamin Austin.

At a meeting held at Faneuil Hall, Oct. 25, 1774, ten more were added to the committee: Daniel Waldo, Samuel May, William Boardman, and others.]

Agreement to be signed by citizens of various towns, in which they promise to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the act blockading the harbor of Boston shall be repealed, &c., &c.

Also that if any refuse to sign it, "we will consider them in the same light as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connexions with them forever, and publish their names to the world." June, 1774

7½ x 12½.

A Letter issued by the Committee of Correspondence for Boston, in relation to an agreement not to purchase any goods which shall be imported from Great Britain; it says that it is expected to keep to the spirit of the covenant, and that dealings shall be suspended with persons who "persist in counter-acting the salutary design by continuing to import or purchase British articles," &c.

Boston, June 10, 1774.

[Signed] WILLIAM COOPER, Clerk.

7½ x 9.

Worcester June 13th, 1774. A letter called forth by the above mentioned letter of the Committee of Correspondence of Boston.

7½ x 10.

[This is signed by Wm. Young, Chairman of the Worcester Committee of Correspondence, and recommends that as the Covenant referred to is not inconsistent with the spirit or intention of the form sent out by them it is presented for their consideration, &c.

A fac-simile of this and the preceding broadside on one sheet was published in the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, July, 1893.]

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, assembled at Faneuil-hall, 26th July, 1774. Voted, That a letter be sent to the several towns and districts in the province signed by the Town-Clerk, and transmitted by the Committee of Correspondence. Attest.

[In MS.] WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

[The letter begins] Our public Calamities have for a series of years been increasing both in number and weight. We have endeavoured under all our public Misfortunes to Conduct as good Citizens in a *Common Cause*, &c. . . .

Two Acts of Parliament, altering the course of Justice, and annihilating our once free Constitution of Government, are every day expected.

You, Gentlemen, our friends, countrymen and benefactors, may possibly look towards us in this great crisis. We trust that we shall not be left of Heaven to do anything derogatory to the common liberties, unworthy the fame of ancestors, or inconsistent with our former professions and conduct. [Closing with the words.] To you Gentlemen, our brethren and dear companions in the Cause of God *and our Country*, we apply; from you we have *received that countenance and aid*, which has strengthened our hands, *and that bounty which hath occasioned smiles on the face of distress*. To you, therefore, we look for that *Wisdom, Advice and Example*, which, giving strength to our understanding, and vigor to our actions, shall, with the blessing of God, save us from destruction.

[Signed] Friends and Brethren,

The Inhabitants of Boston.

By Order of the Town,

WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

8½ x 15.

By the Governor. A Proclamation Whereas a Number of Persons unlawfully assembled at Cambridge, in the Month of *October* last, calling themselves a *Provincial Congress*, did in the most open and daring Terms, assume to themselves the Powers and Authority of Government, independent of, and repugnant to his Majesty's Government, legally and

constitutionally established within this Province, and tending utterly to subvert the same; &c., &c.

This proclamation is issued, “ Earnestly exhorting, and in His Majesty’s Name strictly prohibiting all His liege Subjects within this Province, from complying in any Degree with the said Requisitions, Recommendations, Directions or Resolves of the aforesaid unlawful Assembly ” &c., &c.

Given at Boston, this Tenth Day of November, in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty Georeg [*sic.*] the Third, by the Grace of *God*, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoque Domini, 1774. THO’S. GAGE.

By His Excellency’s Command,

THO’S FLUCKER, Secr’y.

God Save the King.

Boston: Printed by M. Draper, Printer to His Excellency the Governor, and the Honorable His Majesty’s Council.

10 x 14.

In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, December 6, 1774. Resolved, That the following Address be presented to the several Ministers of the Gospel in this Province.

Reverend Sir. When we contemplate the Friendship and Assistance, our Ancestors the first settlers of this Province (while overwhelmed with Distress) received from the pious Pastors of the Churches of Christ, who, to enjoy the Rights of Conscience, fled with them to this Land, then a savage Wilderness, we find ourselves fill’d with the most grateful Sensations.—&c., &c.

[Recommends to the Ministers of the Gospel,] in the several Towns and other Places in this Colony, that they assist us, in avoiding that dreadful Slavery with which we are now threatened, by advising the People of their several Congregations, as they wish their Prosperity, to abide by and strictly adhere to the *Resolutions* of the *Continental Congress*, as the most peaceable and probable Method of preventing Confusion and Bloodshed, and of restoring that Harmony between Great-Britain and these Colonies, on which we wish might be established not only the Rights and

Liberties of America, but the Opulence and lasting Happiness of the whole British Empire.

Sign'd by Order of the Provincial Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

A true Extract from the Minutes.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secretary.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Report of the doings of] a meeting held at Concord (Mass) on the 30th and 31st Days of August 1774 to consult upon Measures proper to be taken at the present very important Day.

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$.

[The names of about 150 gentlemen are given as representing every town and district in Middlesex County. The Hon. James Prescott was Chairman, and a Committee consisting of Jonathan Williams Austin of Chelmsford, Captain Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, Doctor Isaac Foster of Charlestown, Capt. Josiah Stone of Framingham, Mr. Richard Deavens of Charlestown, Doctor Oliver Prescott of Groton, Henry Gardner, Esq. of Stow, Mr. William Brown of Framingham, and Mr. Ebenezer Bridge, jun. of Billerica—was appointed to report resolutions. They reported that the Province was in a very dangerous and alarming situation, &c., &c., with several resolutions which were adopted by a vote of 146 Yeas to 4 Nays.]

A List of the Addressers to the late Governor Hutchinson, Taken from the *London Gazetteer*, and *New Daily Advertiser*, of Saturday, September 24, 1774. Sold by D. Kneeland, in Queen Street.

13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 17.

[There is another copy of this with a different heading and without date. For fac-simile of this last, see Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, October, 1893,]

Extracts from Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress. October 1774. Boston: Printed by T. & J. Fleet.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 15.

The Association agreed upon by the Grand American Continental Congress. With names of the members. October 1774. Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill, in Queen Street.

10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The King's Speech To both Houses of Parliament, 30th November, 1774, Together with their Addresses to his Majesty.

10 x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$.

In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, December 6, 1774.

The Operation of the cruel and iniquitous Boston-Port-Bill, that Instrument of ministerial Vengeance, having reduced our once happy Capital and the neighbouring Town of Charlestown, from Affluence and Ease, to extreme Distress; many of their Inhabitants being deprived of even the Means of procuring the Necessaries of Life: &c., &c.

It is therefore Resolved, That it be recommended to our Constituents the Inhabitants of the other Towns, Districts and Parishes within this Province, that they farther contribute liberally to alleviate the Burden of those Persons who are the more immediate Objects of Ministerial Resentment, and are now suffering in the common Cause of their Country, &c., &c.

And it is Ordered, That Doctor Foster, Mr. Devens, and Mr. Cheever, be a Committee to transmit printed Copies of the above Resolve to the Ministers of the Gospel in the several Towns, &c., &c. . . . who are desired to read the same to their several Congregations, in order that their Contributions of such Necessaries of Life as they can spare, may be forwarded as soon as possible.

[Signed] JOHN HANCOCK, President.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Life and Confession of Daniel Wilson, who was Executed at Providence (Rhode Island) on Friday the 29th of April, 1774, &c. [Heavy black border.]

8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$:

The Life, Last Words And Dying Speech of Valentine Dukett; who was shot for Desertion, on Boston Common, Friday Morning, Sept. 9, 1774. [Black border.]

Boston Camp (at mid-night) 9th Sept. 1774.

Sold at the Printing-Office in School-Street. Price Six Coppers.

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1775.

Thomas's Boston Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord God, 1775.

Boston: Printed and Sold by Isaiah Thomas, at the South Corner of Marshall's Lane, near the Mill-Bridge. 15 x 19.

[A sheet calendar with usual information in regard to eclipses, &c.]

At a Convention of Committees for the County of Worcester, convened at the Court-House in Worcester, January 27, 1775, the following Resolves (among others) passed, viz.

Whereas *Isaac Jones of Weston*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Innholder and Trader, has by his Conduct of late Years in various Instances manifested a disposition inimical to the Rights and Priviledges of his Countrymen.

Therefore *Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to all the Inhabitants of this County, not to have any commercial Connections with the said *Isaac Jones*, but shun his House and Person, and treat him with that Contempt he deserves; &c., &c.

Whereas the Enemies of these united Colonies are indefatigable in their Endeavours to create Divisions among the Inhabitants, and as there are several Printers on the Continent, viz. *Rivington* and *Gaine*, of New-York, *Draper*, *Mills* and *Hicks*, of Boston, that incessantly assist them in their Endeavours by publishing their scandalous Performances in their several News-Papers:— Therefore *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the good People of this County not to take any more of the aforesaid Papers, but that they encourage those Printers who have invariably appeared friendly to this Country.

7¼ x 8½.

The Testimony of the People called Quakers, given forth by a Meeting of the Representatives of said People, in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held at Philadelphia the twenty-fourth Day of the first Month, 1775.

Having considered with real sorrow, the unhappy contest between the legislature of Great-Britain and the people of these colonies . . . we have by repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavours to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which as we apprehended, so we now find have increased contention, and produced great discord and confusion,

We are therefore, incited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare

against every usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, &c., &c.

We hope to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made upon us, inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the King and his government, as by law established, &c., &c.

Signed in behalf of the Meeting.

JAMES PEMBERTON, Clerk.

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$.

Yesterday a Vessel arriv'd at Marblehead from Falmouth, by which Papers were brought to the 12th of December, which were immediately sent to the Committee of Correspondence of this Town, containing, The King's Speech, &c.

Boston, January 31, 1775.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{8}$.

[Then follow the speech and the proceedings of Parliament.]

Boston, February 25, 1775, Gentlemen, The following Proceedings and Votes of the Joint Committees of this and seven other towns are conveyed to you by their unanimous request. . . The importance of the subject at this critical time when our Enemies are aided by some of our deluded fellow citizens, must strike you forcibly. The army by the number of waggons which they have engaged must be in want of a number of horses and cattle, it is wholly with our friends in the Country to prevent their supply, but we need not dictate to them the mode. The cannon and baggage of the army must remain here unless you supply them with horses and Cattle, &c. By Order of the Committee.

[Then follows] At a meeting of the Committees of Correspondence of the several towns of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Medford, Lexington, Watertown, Brookline, and Concord. Whereas the representative Body of this province in Congress assembled at Cambridge considering that certain persons were Employed in divers Kind of work for the Army in order to enable them to take the field and distress the inhabitants, &c., &c. [Made certain recommendations relative to supplying the troops at Boston with various articles, &c. It was voted] That no teams be suffered to load in, or after loading to pass through, any town in this province for Boston; [except under certain conditions.]

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$.

The Recantations of Jacob Fowle, Benjamin Marston, John Gallison, Robert Hooper, Tertius, Nathan Bowen, Samuel White, and Thomas Lewis.

In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, May 2, 1775.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The Recantations of Robert Hooper, John Pedrick, Robert Hooper, Jun. George M'Call, Richard Reed, and Henry Sanders.

In Committee of Safety, May 4, 1775.

Salem: Printed by E. Russell, next Door to John Turner, Esq; in Main-street.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$.

[In both cases the Committee recommend that the recantations be accepted, and that the signers, "be protected from all Injuries and Insults whatsoever, so long as they shall adhere to their several Recantations, and continue to assist and abide by the Country and the Inhabitants of Marblehead in particular, in the important Dispute between Great Britain and America." In the first broadside the printing is carried over to the other side of sheet.]

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 5, 1775. Whereas the Term for which this present Congress was chose, expires on the Thirtieth Instant, and the Exigencies of our Public Affairs, render it absolutely necessary for the Safety of this Colony that a new Congress be elected and convened, to consider of, and transact the Public affairs thereof:

[Then follows Resolve recommending the towns to elect forthwith as many members, as to them shall seem necessary, &c.] Also under same date, Whereas his Excellency General Gage, since his Arrival into this Colony, hath conducted as an Instrument in the Hands of an arbitrary Ministry, to enslave this People; and a Detachment of the Troops, under his Command, has of late been by him ordered to the Town of Concord to destroy public Stores, &c., &c. It was Therefore Resolved, That the said General Gage, hath by these and many other means utterly disqualified himself to serve this Colony as a Governor, &c., &c. [Signed] JOSEPH WARREN, President P. T.

Salem: Printed by E. Russell, next Door to J. Turner, Esq; in the Main-street.

10 x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, June 17th, 1775. Whereas the hostile Incursions this Country is exposed to, and the frequent Alarms we may expect from the Military Operations of our Enemies, make it necessary that the good People of this Colony be on their Guard, and prepared at all Times to resist their Attacks, and to aid and assist their Brethren :

It was Resolved, that the Militia in all Parts of the Colony be recommended to hold themselves in Readiness to march at a Minute's Warning, &c., &c. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.

Salem. Address to the people of the Churches by the Third Church and Congregation in Salem, in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. March 6 1775 Signed by Nathaniel Whittaker Pastor, and others of the Church. Also extracts from the minutes of the Presbytery, sitting at Newburyport, Nov 10, 1774. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 12$.

[The meeting-house of the third Church at Salem had been destroyed by a fire, which also consumed many other buildings, and this address calls for help to rebuild, which would cost about £1000, only half of which the parish felt able to raise. The address is signed by Nathaniel Whitaker, Pastor, Miles Ward, Hubertus Malloon & John Cloutman, Elders of the Church, also by a building committee of five. The address is followed by a recommendation of the case by the Presbytery of Boston, dated May 10, 1774 (signed) Simon Williams, Presby's Clk. "N. B. Whatever may be contributed, we pray may be done with speed, and sent to one or other of the following Gentlemen, viz. To the Hon. Roger Sherman, Esq. in New-Haven, Dr. Joshua Lathrop, in Norwich; and all to be remitted to the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, D.D. in Salem."]

Fresh Advices from London. By a Packet, arrived at New-York, and Capt. Spain at Philadelphia, from England, we have the following interesting Advices. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$.

[Extracts from various letters from London, Jany. 5 to March 16, 1775. No place or date of printing. Then follows notice of a meeting of "Merchants of London, trading to America," &c. A committee was appointed to consider the importance of the American trade to England. The Broadside closes with a paragraph dated Providence, March 16, stating that the "Ship *Benlah*, which lately sailed from thence, having in a clandestine Manner landed Part of her Cargo in New-Jersey, the Inhabitants assembled, and destroyed the Goods," &c.]

By his Excellency the Honourable Thomas Gage, Esq; Governor in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts-Bay, &c. A Proclamation.

“Whereas the infatuated multitudes, who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well known incendiaries and traitors, in a fatal progression of crimes, against the constitutional authority of the State, have at length proceeded to avowed rebellion,” &c., &c. “In this exigency of Complicated Calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the effusion of blood; to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name, offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment,” &c., &c.

Given at Boston, June 12 in the fifteenth year of the reign of his Majesty *George* the third, Annoque Domini, 1775. 7½ x 8½.

An Address to the American Army in general, Formed on the respectable Establishment, recommended by the American Continental and Provincial Congress; and to the Regiments Forming in Salem and Marblehead, in particular. To which is Annexed, Extracts from an excellent Pamphlet, lately published in New York, entitled, Stricture on the “Friendly Address to all reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions.”

Salem: N. E. Printed and sold by E. Russell, in Ruck-street, leading from the State-house to Marblehead. 14 x 17.

[No date, but in MS. it is given as 1775.]

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, June 16th, 1775. As it has pleased Almighty God in his Providence to suffer the Calamities of an unnatural War to take Place among us, in Consequence of our sinful Declensions from Him, and our great Abuse of those inestimable Blessings bestowed upon us, &c., &c.

And as among the prevailing Sins of this Day, which threaten the Destruction of this Land, we have Reason to lament the frequent Prophanation of the Lord's Day, or the Christian Sabbath, &c., &c. It is therefore *Resolved*, That it be recommended by this Congress, to the People of all Ranks and Denominations throughout this Colony, that they not only pay a religious Regard to that Day, and to the public Worship of God thereon; but that they also use their Influence to discountenance and suppress any Prophanations thereof in others.

[The Ministers of the Gospel were recommended to read the Resolve to their Congregations, &c. And as there was "great Danger that the Prophanation of the Lord's Day will prevail in the Camp": the Officers were recommended to set good examples, &c., &c.]

[Signed] SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secr'y.

By Order of the Congress,

JAMES WARREN, President.

7½ x 8½.

To the Military Officers, Select-Men, and Committee of Correspondence in the Town of ———. Gentlemen, You are hereby most earnestly requested to procure the execution of the subsequent Resolve with the greatest possible Expedition. In Provincial Congress, Watertown, July 12, 1775. Whereas a very speedy Augmentation of the army is indispensably necessary, and has been requested by his Excellency General *Washington*, to serve as a temporary Reinforcement, &c.

7½ x 12¼.

[It was Resolved, that it be most earnestly recommended to the Commanding Officer of every Company in the Town of ——— that they immediately raise and send to the Camp at Cambridge ——— able bodied men, each provided with a good Firelock, Ammunition and Blanket, &c., &c.]

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, June 17th, 1775. Resolves relative to procuring "Firelocks" for the use of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. "The Inhabitants of the several Towns and Districts in the Colonies specified in a List hereunto annexed, who may have good and sufficient

Firelocks, &c., are requested to provide and deliver to persons appointed by Congress the full number specified in the list," &c.

[Signed] A True Copy from the Minutes.

SAMUEL FREEMAN, Sec'y.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 14$.

[The names of towns with the number of firelocks desired from each, follow the resolves.]

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, June 30, 1775. To the several Towns in the County of Hampshire, on the Easterly Side of Connecticut River, and the Towns in the County of Worcester.

10×15 .

[This is in relation to drawing upon the several towns for powder, and a schedule is given showing the stock on hand and the amount, if any, already supplied.]

Watertown, July 8th, 1775. Gentlemen, In Obedience to the Order of Congress we have proportioned Thirteen Thousand Coats on all the Towns and Districts in this Colony, excepting Boston and Charlestown, &c., &c.

[Signed] DAVID CHEEVER, Chairman.

P. S. A large Number of Shirts, Stockings and Summer Breeches are wanted immediately for the Use of the Army, you are therefore earnestly requested as you value the Lives and Health of your Countrymen, to furnish as soon as possible a large number of these Articles, &c., &c.

$5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, July 9, 1775. Whereas there is now a very pressing Demand for some Articles of Cloathing, more especially of Shirts, Breeches, Stockings and Shoes, in the Army raised by the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, and there is Danger of very mischievous Consequences from a Delay of supplying the same: &c., &c. Resolved, That the Inhabitants of the respective Towns and Districts . . . be most earnestly desired to procure as soon as possible such articles as are needed and deliver the same to persons appointed to receive them, &c., &c. [A list of persons appointed for the various counties is given, also the number of articles desired from each town.]

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{4}$.

In Council, November 7th, 1775. Resolve in relation to Inn-holders licences. [Signed] J. WARREN, Speaker and Consented to by the Council. 7 x 9.

[In MS. at the bottom, "The Court of General Sessions for the Peace stands adjourned to the first Tuesday in January next; when they will proceed to Business."]

Cambridge, 21st August, 1775.

Wanted for the Continental Army. One Million of Bricks, Three Thousand Cords of Fire Wood, Two Hundred Thousand Feet of Pine Boards and Scantling, &c., &c. Those Persons who are willing to supply the Army with the Articles above-mentioned, may apply to the Quarter-Master-General, in Cambridge. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Boston, on Monday the 18th of November Inst, it was Voted, that the following Hand Bill be Printed, and delivered to the Inhabitants, for their Government in giving in to the Committee an Account of the Damages they have received from a Savage Enemy, viz. [Hand Bill.] The Honorable Continental Congress, and the General Assembly of the State, having resolved, That a just and well authenticated Account of the Hostilities committed by the Ministerial Troops and Navy in America since March 1775 be collected &c., &c. 8 x 14.

[The inhabitants of Boston were requested to bring in an account of their losses under fourteen heads as provided in a schedule prepared by the Committee. No date or place of printing.]

A Dose For the Tories. Ten verses in rhyme.

Ireland Printed: America Re-Printed in the Year MDCC-LXXV. 8 x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Henry Gardner, Esquire, Treasurer and Receiver-General for said Colony. To ———, Constable or Collector of ———. 12 x 17.

[Calls upon the assessors of the several towns to collect their proportion of a tax of Forty-Six Thousand Pounds, &c. Watertown, Dec. 20, 1775.]

1776.

By the Great and General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. A Proclamation.

The Frailty of human Nature, the Wants of Individuals, and the numerous Dangers which surround them, through the Course of Life, have in all Ages, and in every Country, impell'd them to form Societies, and establish Governments, &c., &c.

But as our Enemies have proceeded to such barbarous Extremities commencing Hostilities upon the Good People of this Colony, &c., &c.—the Congress have resolved:—"That no Obedience being due to the Act of Parliament for altering the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, nor to a Governor or Lieutenant Governor, who will not observe the Directions of, but endeavour to subvert that Charter; the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of that Colony, are to be considered as absent, and their Offices vacant; and as there is no Council there, and Inconveniences arising from the Suspension of the Powers of Government, are intolerable, especially at a Time when General Gage hath actually levied War," &c., &c.

Recommends, "the Provincial Convention, to write Letters to the Inhabitants of the several Places which are intitled to Representation in Assembly, requesting them to chuse Representatives," &c., &c. In Council Jan'y 19, 1776. Ordered, That the Proclamation be read at the Opening of every Superior Court of Judicature, &c. the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, and Court of General Sessions for the Peace, &c. Also at the several Town Meetings in March, and the several Ministers of the Gospel recommended to read it to their respective Assemblies, &c., &c.

[Signed] PEREZ MORTON. Dep'y Sec'y.

WILLIAM COOPER, Speaker pro Tem.

Also by William Sever, Caleb Cushing, John Winthrop, Jedediah Foster and twelve others.—"God Save the People."

13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 17.

Colony of New Hampshire. In Committee of Safety, April 12th, 1776. In Order to carry the underwritten Resolve of the Hon'ble Continental Congress into Execution, You are

requested to desire all Males above Twenty One Years of Age (Lunatics, Idiots, and Negroes excepted) to sign to the Declaration on this Paper; and when so done, to make Return hereof, together with the Name or Names of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the General-Assembly, or Committee of Safety of this Colony.

[Signed] M. WEARE, Chairman.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$.

[Then follows a Resolve of Congress, March 14th, 1776, which recommends "the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils, or Committees of Safety of the United Colonies," to cause all persons who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of America to be disarmed. This is followed by a form of promise or agreement (signed in MS. by over seventy persons), that they will to the utmost of their power, and at the "Risque" of their "Lives and Fortunes, with Arms oppose the *Hostile Proceedings* of the British Fleets, and Armies, against the United American Colonies."]

In the House of Representatives, April 19, 1776. Whereas sundry Persons of this Colony have joined our unnatural Enemies, who have in a hostile Manner been endeavouring to enslave the United Colonies, &c. [Signed] J. Warren, Speaker, and James Otis, William Sever, Caleb Cushing, Jedediah Foster and other Members of the Council.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 13$.

[Resolves calling attention of Committees of Correspondence, Safety and Inspection, in Towns where there is any Real or Personal Estate belonging to such persons, that have fled to Boston to secure themselves, or have joined the Enemy, and asking that their estates be taken possession of, &c. Calling for the name of any one who has acted against the right and liberties of the Country, &c.]

[Action of the] Committees of Correspondence, &c. of the towns of Mendon, Uxbridge, and Douglas; on the 29th day of May, 1776, A general meeting of the Committees of Correspondence was proposed to be held "at the Widow Stearns's, innholder in Worcester," on the 26th of June to consider on certain articles recommended by the Committee for the County of Suffolk.

[Signed] JOHN TYLER, Chairman.

$3\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.

[Widow Stearns's inn was on the present location of the Lincoln House.]

[In Congress.] July 4 1776. Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, In General Congress Assembled. [Signed] JOHN HANCOCK, President.

[This is the Declaration of Independence, and was presented to the American Antiquarian Society in December, 1822, by Simon Greenleaf, LL.D., who says, in a letter accompanying it, "This is one of the original hand bills announcing the Declaration of Independence. It was posted up in Newburyport and afterwards preserved by my grandfather, the late Hon. Jonathan Greenleaf. The error in spelling Mr Hancock's (Hancock) name shows the great haste to announce that great event."

A piece is torn out at the top (perhaps done in taking it down) so that the words "In Congress," are missing.]

In the House of Representatives, September 17th, 1776. Resolved, That it be recommended to the Male Inhabitants of each Town in this State, being Free and Twenty-one Years of Age or upwards, that they assemble as soon as they can in Town-Meeting . . . to consider and determine whether they will give their Consent that the present House of Representatives . . . together with the Council, . . . should consult, agree on, and enact such a Constitution and Form of Government for this State . . . as will most conduce to the Safety, Peace and Happiness of this State in all after Successions and Generations, &c.

[Signed] J. WARREN, Speaker.

$8\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$.

[In MS. at bottom of broadside is the action of the Town of Uxbridge on the Resolve, Oct. 8, 1776. Signed by the Selectmen.]

In Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York September 21, 1776.

Whereas, divers of the inhabitants of this State have, by the wicked arts and insidious and corrupt practices of William Tryon Esq; late Governor of the Colony of New York, and his adherents, been seduced to take part with our enemies, and aid and abet their measures for the subjugating the United States of America, &c. A resolve for appointment of a Committee for the purpose of enquiring into, detecting and defeating all conspiracies, &c. Also a resolve that the Company of thirty men, ordered by the Convention be raised by Captain Delavergne.

[Signed] ROBERT BENSON, Sec'ry.

8 x 10.

[In manuscript on back of Broadside, the names of Committee, William Duer, Esqr., Chairman, John Jay, P. Van Cortland, Leonard Gansevort, Charles Dewitt, Zephaniah Platt, Nathaniel Sacket. A. W. D. Peyster, Secr'y.]

[Cut of Three Ships.]

“Now fitting for a Privateer, In the Harbour of Beverly, The Brigantine Washington, a strong, good vessel for that purpose, and a prime sailer” &c.

[Signed] JOHN DYSON.

Beverly, Sept. 17th, 1776.

7½ x 9½

For the Encouragement of those that shall Inlist in the Continental Army—The Congress in their Resolves of September 16th, 18th, 19th, October 8th, and November 12th, 1776, Engage, That Twenty Dollars be given as a Bounty to Each Non-Commissioned Officer and Private Soldier who shall Inlist to serve for the Term of Three Years, &c., &c.

In the House of Representatives, Dec. 4, 1776.

[Signed] JAMES WARREN, Speaker.

7½ x 10.

Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 1776. We the Subscribers, Do each of us severally for ourselves, profess, testify and declare before God and the World, that we verily believe that the War, Resistance and Opposition in which the United American Colonies are now engaged, against the Fleets and Armies of Great-Britain, is on the Part of the said Colonies, just and necessary. And we do hereby severally promise, covenant and engage, to and with every Person of this Colony, who shall subscribe this Declaration, or another of the same Tenor and Words, that we will not, during the said War, directly or indirectly, in any Ways, aid, abet or assist any of the Naval or Land Forces of the King of Great-Britain, or any employ'd by him; or supply them with any Kind of Provisions, Military or Naval Stores, or hold any Correspondence with or Communicate any Intelligence to any of the Officers, &c., &c. . . . But on the contrary according to our best Power and Abilities, will defend by Arms, the United American Colonies, &c., &c.

6½ x 8¼.

1777.

Fresh and important News! Providence, Jan. 12, 1777. Extract of a Letter from the Honorable Governor Trumbull, to the Honorable Governor Cooke, dated Jan 10, 1777. Notice of an Engagement by the troops under Gen. Putnam, not far from Burlington, on the east side of the Delaware. Also from a letter of Thaddeus Burr, giving news received from General Washington in regard to an Engagement with the Enemy three miles east of Princeton, &c.

The above Intelligence was taken from a Hand-Bill, printed at Providence, and brought to Town at Half past Ten o'clock this Morning, by a Gentleman in the Stage-Coach.

Boston, January 15, 1777.

Printed by Powars and Willis.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Boston, Sunday, January 12, 1777. The Letters, whereof the following are Extracts, being wrote by several Field Officers in the American Army, arrived in Town last Evening, and are made Public for the Perusal of the Several Gentlemen who subscribed to defray the Expences of obtaining Intelligence from the Army.

Printed by Powars and Willis.

10 x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[These are extracts from six letters, most of them from Trenton, under date of Dec., 1776, and Jan., 1777.]

State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives. January 25, 1777.

The Perseverance of Britain in her Attempts to subjugate the Free States of America to an unconditional Submission to their arbitrary Impositions, demands a vigorous Perseverance in the Inhabitants of these States to frustrate the barbarous Design, &c., &c.

8 x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Calls upon the commanding officers of each Regiment of Militia to cause their several Companies to be mustered in in their respective Towns and Plantations, &c. It was the judgment of the "Court that a number amounting to One Seventh Part of all the Male Inhabitants from Sixteen Years old and upwards, at home and abroad belonging to this State, will compleat our Quota of the Continental Army," &c. Jany. 26, 1777. Signed Samuel Freeman, Speaker pro-tem.]

In Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York, at Kingston, March 7, 1777.

Resolve in relation to the duties, &c. of the Commissioners appointed within the State to enquire into, detect and defeat all Conspiracies which may be formed in the same against the liberties of America, &c. Also an order of the Commissioners dated at Fish-Kill March 10, 1777 in regard to all persons who for notorious disaffection to the liberties of America, &c. have been sent to any neighbouring States, &c.

7½ x 10.

An Abstract from Resolves containing the Encouragement offered by the Continental Congress, and by the State of Massachusetts-Bay, to such as shall enlist into the Continental Army.

In Council, Jan. 28, 1777. [Signed] SAM. FREEMAN,
JOHN AVERY, Dep'y Sec'y. Speaker Pro Tem.

8½ x 13.

State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives, March 15, 1777.

Resolves for procuring blankets for the Continental Army, to prevent the soldiers being retarded on their march, &c. With a list of persons appointed from the several Counties to have charge of procuring blankets, &c.

9 x 14.

In Congress, April 29, 1777. Resolve in regard to recruiting and paying Continental Battalions, &c. raised by the several States. Extract from the Minutes.

[Signed] CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap.

8 x 13¼.

State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives, August 8, 1777, Whereas by the Loss of the important Fortress of Ticonderoga, a Way is open to the Ravages of our cruel and inveterate enemies, &c., &c. [Resolves ordering "one-sixth Part of the Able-Bodied Men in the Training Band and Alarm List, now at home" in the different counties to march to reinforce the army, &c., &c. Then follow various resolves in regard to the militia.]

In council, August 9, 1777. JOHN AVERY, D. Secr'y.

7½ x 19¾.

Boston, September 26, 1777. Fresh Advices from the Northern Army. Providence, September 25, 1777. The following Intelligence was last Night received here, in a Hand-Bill from Connecticut. Norwich, Tuesday Evening, 7 o'clock. In Council at Labanon, Sept 23. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$.

[Then follows an account of a battle at "Stillwater on Behmus's heights, west side of Hdson's river, Gen. Burgoyne is wounded in the small of his back," &c.]

1778.

In Congress, May 6, 1778. Whereas Congress have received from their Commissioners at the Court of France, Copies of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

[Then follow several articles of the treaty and resolves of Congress and form of passports and letters to be given to "Ships and Barques," &c., &c.]

[Signed] CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

$10\frac{1}{2} \times 17$.

An Address of the Congress To the Inhabitants of the United States of America.

Bay-State: Boston; Printed by Powars and Willis, for the Honorable the Council of said State. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 17$.

[It speaks of the "War without parellel in the annals of Mankind" which the Country had so lately passed through; refers to the great depreciation in the money and gives reason why it had depreciated. Recommends that those, "who have leisure and opportunity, collect the monies which individuals in their neighbourhood are desirous of placing in the public funds," &c., that the several legislatures sink their respective emissions, that so there being but one kind of bills, there may be less danger of counterfeit. Suggests economy and that things not absolutely necessary should not be purchased. "Above all bring your Armies into the field. Trust not to appearances of peace or safety. Be assured that, unless you persevere, you will be exposed to every species of barbarity. But if you exert the means of defence which God and Nature have given you, the time will soon arrive, when every man shall sit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." [Signed] By order of Congress. Henry Laurens, President. State of Massachusetts-Bay. Council-Chamber, May 23, 1778. "Ordered, That a printed copy of the foregoing Address, be transmitted to the several Ministers of the Gospel" &c., &c., to be read in the Churches.]

1779.

Proceedings of the Convention Begun and held at Concord, in the State of Massachusetts-Bay, on the Sixth Day of October, A. D. 1779 (in Pursuance of the Recommendation of a Convention held in said Place in July last) to "take into Consideration the Prices of Merchandize and Country Produce, and to make such Regulations and Reductions therein, as the public Good might require." With list of delegates from 143 Towns. With an address signed by

W. SPOONER, President.

Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes and Sons in State Street.

pp. 4. 10½ x 17½.

The Last Words and Dying Speech of Robert Young, who is to be Executed at Worcester this day, November 11, 1779, for a Rape committed on the Body of Jane Green, a Child, eleven Years of age.

Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Worcester.

15 x 19½.

[There was also published at the same time "The Dying Criminal, a Poem compiled in Prison by Robert Young." The *Massachusetts Spy* of Nov. 18, 1779, says "Young was one of the Convention troops about twenty-nine years of age, he appeared very penitent and just before he was turned off, made a very good prayer."]

State of Massachusetts-Bay. In Council, June 11, 1779. Resolve, that an Address issued by Congress to the Inhabitants of the United States of America be printed in "Hand-Bills and sent to the several Ministers of the Gospel in the Towns and Parishes within this State." The Ministers were requested to read the same to their respective religious assemblies, &c.

15 x 20.

[This address, signed John Jay, President, was passed by Congress in May, 1779, and calls attention to the situation of public affairs, particularly to the "great and encreasing depreciation of the currency, &c., which requires the immediate strenuous, and united efforts of all true friends to their Country, for preventing an extension of the Mischiefs that have already flowed from that source."]

State of Massachusetts-Bay. In the House of Representatives, February 19, 1779. Resolves in relation to calling a State Convention to form a New Constitution.

In Council February 20, 1779.

JOHN AVERY, Dep Secr'y.

7½ x 9½.

Copy of the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Boston, June 17, 1779, in regard to an address by Congress recommending "an immediate strenuous and united Effort, to prevent an Extension of the Mischiefs which have arisen from the depreciated State of the Continental Currency."

Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes & Company. 10 x 15½.

Boston, June 21, 1779, Gentlemen, By the inclosed Votes and Proceedings of a large and respectable Body of the Inhabitants of this Town, which we have the Pleasure to transmit to you, and request a Communication of them to your Inhabitants you will perceive how greatly we are alarmed at the depreciating State of our Currency, or more properly Speaking, with the rapid rise of every Article of Life, &c., &c.

Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety.

JOHN LOWELL, Chairman.

8 x 12½.

[This copy was sent to the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety for the Town of *Worcester*.

It proposes a Convention of Delegates from the several Committees to be held at Concord to take into Consideration the Embarrassments of a depreciating currency, &c.]

Important Intelligence. Providence, 4 o'clock, Afternoon,—
Worcester, June 21. Printed by I. Thomas. N. D. [1779
in MS.] 6½ x 8½.

[The intelligence is, that, George Bryan, immediately from South Carolina, has brought advice, "That General Prevost advanced with 7,000 men, and attacked Charlestown, which was defended by a body of the town and neighbouring militia, . . . that when success was dubious, General Lincoln fell upon their rear, and gained a victory, &c. Seventeen hundred of the enemy were left on the field, and all their artillery and baggage." Under date of Worcester, it says the news is confirmed by a person who arrived at Boston from New York.

Poem on the Death of Dr. Abraham Howe, of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts-Bay, who died October 19th, 1779 in the twenty-second Year of his Age. 10 x 12.

Printed and sold at the Printing-Office in Worcester.

1780.

By the Honourable Major General Baron de Steuben, Commanding the troops in the State of Virginia.

[Calls upon all Continental officers] “to repair to Chesterfield Court-house, on or before the 10th day of February next, &c., in order that their respective claims may be considered and finally acted upon,” &c., &c.

[Dated] Richmond, this 20th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and of our independence the fifth.

[Signed] STEUBEN.

7 x 8½.

This Day was published, and to be Sold by Isaiah Thomas, at his Printing-Office, in Worcester, By the Thousand, Hundred, Groce, Dozen or Single, As Cheap as any in the State, Thomas's Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Connecticut Almanack, For the Year of our Lord Christ 1780, &c., &c. By Philomathes, an Independent Whig. N. B. This *Almanack* is pronounced by able judges to be equal in goodness to any published. Great allowance to those who buy to sell again. 13½ x 16¾.

1781.

Scale of Depreciation Agreeable to an Act of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to be observed as a Rule for settling the rate of Depreciation on all contracts both publick and private, made on or since the first day of January, 1777. 8 x 13.

[The scale covers the period from 1777 to October, 1781.]

1782.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act in Addition Unto, and for Amending and Explaining excise duties on certain

Articles for the purpose of paying the interest on Government Securities. March 7 1782.

[Signed] NATH. GORHAM, Speaker.

SAMUEL ADAMS, President.

Approved, JOHN HANCOCK.

13 x 17.

[Imperfect—part of first column missing.]

Rules and Articles of the Massachusetts Society: Founded in Boston, New-England, September 6, 1762; and incorporated as a Body-Politic by Charter from the Honorable Legislature of said State on the 15th of March 1780, by the name of the “Massachusetts Charitable Society.”

Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes & Sons, State-Street, 1782. 8½ x 14½.

[Then follow thirteen articles or rules. | “May this *Society* in friendship reign, | Whilst *Charity* a virtue shall remain.” | On the back are the names of ninety-three members.]

By the United States in Congress Assembled, August 7, 1782.
Resolves in regard to the Military of the several States, reorganization of the Army, &c.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

6¾ x 8.

Worcester News-Paper. Free and Uninfluenced. Proposals for circulating Thomas’s Massachusetts Spy in the Town of Boston and its Vicinity.

Worcester May, 1782.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

10 x 15½.

Worcester County Convention. Printed at Worcester, 1782.

A Convention called to consider the “Grievances which have created great uneasiness in the minds of the Good People of this County.” Several Resolves passed by the Convention, one calls for a settlement by the General Court with the Treasurer of the Commonwealth and all other *publick* Boards, Commissaries, Commissioners and all other individuals, who have been intrusted with the Expenditure of any Money, &c., &c.; another recommends the representatives to use their influence in the General Court that it may be removed out of the Town of Boston. 8 x 12.

[Mr. Isaiah Thomas is requested to publish the Resolves in *Massachusetts Spy*.]

[Cuts of Seven Coffins.]

Verses Made on the sudden Death of Six Young Women and
One Boy who were drowned . . . 1782. 10 x 14½.

[Above the coffins appear the following names :—Betsy Hookey, Sukey Heffernon, Polly Spooner, Betsy Allen, Lydia Hookey, Nabby Stanton, John Stall. No place or date of printing given.]

1783.

Boston, October 16, 1783. The Yeas and Nays on a Bill for granting an Impost to Congress, &c., &c., providing that it should not be appropriated to the Discharging of the Half-Pay or Commutation thereof promised by Congress to the Officers of the Army. Also yeas and nays upon the Engrossment of the Bill. 8 x 12½.

[In the House on the first vote there were 64 Yeas and 74 Nays, and on the Engrossment 72 Yeas, 65 Nays; and in the Senate 18 Yeas and 4 Nays.]

By the United States in Congress Assembled :

A PROCLAMATION.

In regard to a "Treaty of Amity and Commerce between their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands, and the United States of America," &c., &c. January 23, 1783.

[Signed] ELIAS BOUDINOT, President.

17 x 19½.

The Last Words of William Huggins and John Mansfield, who are to be Executed this Day, June 19, 1783 at Worcester, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for Burglary, committed in October last. Printed and sold at the Printing office in Worcester. 19 x 22.

[This is followed by "Mansfield's Soliloquy; Or an Elegy on the Execution of Huggins and Mansfield for Burglary."]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act for regulating Pilotage in several Ports in this Commonwealth.

Passed July, 1783.

Approved JOHN HANCOCK.

17 x 22.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the House of Representatives, November 27, 1783.

A Resolve prescribing the form of Inlistment for those Men belonging to this Commonwealth, who shall Inlist into the Service of the United States, to continue in the Service until the End of the present War with Britain.

[Also] A Resolve prescribing the form of Inlistment, for those who shall Inlist for the term of Three Years.

November 29, 1783.

[Signed] JOHN HANCOCK.

8 x 13.

1784.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act for inquiring into the rateable Property of this Commonwealth.

Passed July 8, 1784.

Approved, JOHN HANCOCK.

13 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1785.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act for the Regulation of Navigation and Commerce.

Approved by the Governor, JAMES BOWDOIN.

June 23, 1785.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 17 $\frac{1}{8}$.

House Lots for Sale, In the Centre of the Town of Worcester, Pursuant to a Vote of the Inhabitants of the Town of Worcester, there will be sold By Public Auction To the highest Bidder, at the House of Mr. John Stowers, Innholder in said Town, on the Fifteenth day of February next, at Eleven o'clock A. M., Nine House Lots In the Centre of said Town, and near the Meeting House containing from about half an acre to one Acre Each. . . . The above Lots Front on Publick Roads and are Exceedingly well situated for Tradesmen of Various Kinds, who will Meet with Encouragement in said Town, &c.

[Signed] TIMOTHY PAINE, per order.

Worcester Dec 24 1784.

Printed at Worcester by I Thomas 1785.

18 x 22.

[Has an ornamental border with cuts of houses at the top. The sale was made under the authority of a vote of the town at a meeting held

Nov. 22, 1784, at which time a Committee, of which Timothy Paine was Chairman, was appointed "to view the Ministerial Land Laying near the meeting house" and report whether it was expedient to sell any part of it. The Committee reported at an adjourned meeting, in favor of selling land north of the Common. Six lots were to front south on a new street to be made. This street is now known as Mechanic Street. The town voted to sell the lots at public auction for the most they will fetch, &c., after giving notice in the "*Worcester Gazette*," now known as the *Massachusetts Spy*. The Committee reported in Nov., 1785, that they had sold the nine lots for £510, 10. Among the expenses for selling was £2, 8 to Mr. Thomas for Advertising and 16s/8d to Mr. Stowers, the innholder.]

[Massachusetts Coat of Arms.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. A Proclamation For the Encouragement of Piety, Virtue, Education and Manners, and for the Suppression of Vice. June 8, 1785.

[Signed] JAMES BOWDOIN.

Boston: Printed by Adams and Nourse, Printers to the General Court. 15¼ x 19.

1786.

[Massachusetts Coat of Arms.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act for Suspending the Operation of an Act, entitled, "An Act for the Regulation of Navigation and Commerce." July 5, 1786.

By the Governour, Approved, JAMES BOWDOIN.

Boston: Printed by Adams and Nourse, Printers to the Commonwealth. 12 x 14½

[Cut of Execution.]

The Life and Confession of Johnson Green, who is to be executed this Day, August 17, 1786, for the Atrocious Crime of Burglary; Together with his Last and Dying Words. [Dated] Worcester Goal, August 16, 1786. [Heavy black border.]

Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office in Worcester. 19 x 22.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. A Proclamation. Whereas on the fourth of August last, a Proclamation was issued for Convening the General Court, at Boston, in the County of Suffolk, on the Eighteenth of October next, and whereas

from the many tumults and disorders which have since taken place in several Counties within this Commonwealth, in obstructing the sitting of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, in such Counties it appears highly expedient that the General Court should be convened at an early day, &c. The twenty-seventh day of September is therefore fixed for the General Court to meet.

Sept 13 1786.

[Signed] JAMES BOWDOIN.

Printed by Adams & Nourse, Printers to the General Court.

13 x 15½.

[This was occasioned by the insurrection of Shays and others.]

1787.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An Act for the Limitation of personal Actions, and for Avoiding Suits at Law.

Passed Feby 13 1787.

13½ x 16.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts February 17, 1787. Whereas it is necessary that a considerable sum of money should be immediately procured to defray the expenses incurred by reason of the detachments lately made for the suppression of the unnatural rebellion now existing in the Commonwealth, and for other services rendered the Public, &c., &c.

Approved JAMES BOWDOIN.

8 x 12½.

[It calls upon the Collectors of the public tax, granted in March, 1786, to exert themselves to collect and pay into the Treasury immediately that part of the tax which is to be paid in specie, &c. The people are also called upon to pay the tax as promptly as possible.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [A Proclamation by James Bowdoin in regard to an Act describing the disqualification to which persons should be subjected, who have been or may be guilty of Treason, or giving aid or support to the present Rebellion, &c. The proclamation promises "pardon and indemnity to all offenders within the description aforesaid who are Citizens of this State," &c., &c. Feby 17, 1787.]

Boston: Printed by Adams & Nourse, Printers to the General Court.

13 x 15½.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In House of Representatives, March 10, 1787. Ordered, That the Governor's Objections, made this day to the Bill for establishing a Salary of a fixed and permanent value for the Governor; and repealing a Law heretofore made for that purpose, be published and that the Secretary send Copies thereof to the several towns and plantations within the Commonwealth, &c. [Then follows a message by Gov. Bowdoin.] $7\frac{3}{4} \times 16$.

By the United States in Congress assembled, May 7, 1787. An Ordinance for settling the Accounts between the United States, and Individual States. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$.

By Permission Mr. Carleton Professor of Astronomy, Proposes (with the Approbation of the Ladies and Gentlemen of this METROPOLIS) to deliver a Course of Five Lectures on that sublime Science, &c., &c. Boston, June 20, 1787. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 15$.

[The first lecture was to be at the South Latin-School, opposite the Stone Chapel. Tickets, three shillings each, were to be had of John West Folsom, Printer and Bookseller, No. 7, Union-Street; of Mr. Jones at the American Coffee House, State-street, and of Mr. Moses Bradley, at the White-Horse, near Charlestown-Bridge.—E. Russell, Printer next Lib. Pole.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By His Excellency James Bowdoin, Esquire, Governour, &c. An Address To the Good People of this Commonwealth. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.

[Printed in Jan'y., 1787, at time of the Shays insurrection and speaks of the spirit of discontent in several Counties, &c., &c. Refers to calling out the Militia to protect the Courts in Worcester County, &c.]

Proclamation promising pardon and indemnity to all offenders, &c., who are disqualified under an Act passed in Feby previous for having taken part in the Rebellion, &c. (Shays's Rebellion.) JAMES BOWDOIN.

Printed by Adams & Nourse, Printers, &c., &c. $13 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$.

August 29, 1787. At a Meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, the following Report was received from Rev. Menassah Cutler. [Then follows the report closing with

“That the manner of removing the first settlers, and superintending their Operations will be agreed upon as soon as practicable.—Resolved that James M. Varnum be one of the Directors of the Ohio Company, and that Col. Richard be the Treasurer.” A true copy of the journal.]

WINTHROP SARGENT, Sec’y.

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$.

1788.

New York, June 23d, 1788. Letter of Jedidiah Morse who is about to publish a Gazetteer of North America and asks answer to nine queries, replies to which will help him to make the work accurate and complete.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Resolves dividing the Commonwealth into eight districts, &c., &c. Nov. 1788.

Boston: Printed by Adams & Nourse, Printers to the Honorable General Court.

$13\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$.

[Large Wood Cut of Execution.]

The Last Words, and Dying Speech of Elisha Thomas, who was Executed at Dover, on the 3d June, 1788—for the Murder of Captain Peter Drowne. [Also in sixteen verses] “Thoughts taken from Mr. Elisha Thomas, not long before his Execution.” [Black border.]

$13\frac{1}{2} \times 17$.

Eastern Lands for Sale. The Public are notified of Tracts of Land for sale, situated between the Highlands and the Atlantic Ocean, from north to south; and between the River St. Croix, and the State of New-Hampshire, from east to west, &c. [Signed] by Hon. Samuel Phillips, jun. Esq. and four others, a Committee appointed by the General Court to sell unappropriated lands belonging to Massachusetts.

June 18, 1788.

Boston:—Printed by Adams & Nourse, Printers to the Honourable General Court.

$13\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$.

1789.

Samuel Osgood, Esquire, Post-Master-General of the United States of America. Commission.

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$.

[Although this cannot be strictly classed as a broadside, it is of interest as being the Commission of Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the

American Antiquarian Society, as a Deputy Postmaster. It bears the date Dec. 2, 1789. Another Commission to Mr. Thomas is signed by Timothy Pickering, Post-Master General, in 1791, and one signed by Joseph Habersham, is dated April 11, 1796. A still earlier commission to Mr. Thomas as Deputy Postmaster is dated 1786 and signed by Ebenezer Hazard, Post-Master General.]

Procession. Boston, Oct. 19, 1789.

As this town is shortly to be honoured with a visit from the President of the United States: &c. . . . In order that we may pay our respects to him, in a manner whereby every inhabitant may see so illustrious and amiable a character, &c., &c.

A Committee appointed by a respectable number of inhabitants, met for the purpose, recommend to their Fellow-Citizens to arrange themselves in the following order, in a Procession, &c., &c.

[Then follows the order of procession, commencing with the selectmen and other officials, and representatives of the various trades, forty-six trades being mentioned.] 10 x 15.

Congress of the United-States, Begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine. An Act to establish an Executive Department, to be denominated the Department of War.

Approved, August the 7th, 1789.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President of the United States.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$.

Tavern Rates, Established at Baltimore-County April Term, 1789.

$6\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$.

[Rates are given for thirty-nine items—among which are “Horse at Hay one Night, $1/6$ Pasturage of Ditto at Night, $/6$ Oats per quart, $/2$. Breakfast of Tea, or Coffee, $1/6$. Hot Dinner, with Small Beer, or Cyder, $2/6$ Hot Supper, with Ditto $2/$ Madeira Wine (of various qualities) $5/$ to $7/6$ London Porter, per Bottle $2/$ Strong Beer, home made per Quart, $/9$ Small, ditto, $/4$ Ale, home made, per bottle, $1/6$ French Brandy, per Gill, $/6$ Apple Brandy, per Gill, $/4$ Whiskey, per Gill, $/3$. Toddy with Spirit and Loaf Sugar, per Quart, $1/6$ Punch with fresh Fruit, Spirit and Loaf Sugar, per Quart, $2/6$. Lodging per Night, with Clean Sheets, $/9$.”]

Congress of the United States, Begun and held at the City of New-York, On Wednesday, the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine. An Act providing for the Expences which may attend Negotiations or Treaties with the Indian Tribes, and the appointment of Commissioners for managing the same.

[Signed] FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN ADAMS, Vice-President of the
United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, August the 20th, 1789.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 13.$

Congress of the United States. Held at the City of New York. An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory North-West of the River Ohio.

Approved, August 7th, 1789. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}.$

An Act for Suspending the Operation of two Paragraphs of the Act of the General Assembly of this State, passed at their Session in May, 1786, emitting Bills of Credit on Loan to the Amount of One Hundred Thousand Pounds; as well as for authorizing Debtors to substitute real Estate and certain Articles of personal Estate, at an appraised Value, in Lieu of Specie, for the Payment and Discharge of Debts, as herein-after mentioned. September 21, 1789.

Providence: Printed by Bennett Wheeler. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 17.$

[In MS. on the back of broadside. "Drafted by Theo. Foster and read by him in the General Assembly at Newport, Saturday Evening September A. D. 1789."]

1790.

Congress of the United States: held at the City of New-York An Act for the Government of the Territory of the United-States, south of the river Ohio.

Approved, May 26, 1790.

Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}.$

Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the Convention of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence-Plantations.

Done in Convention at Newport, 29th, May, 1790.

11 x 17.

1791.

Boston, December 19. Melancholly Account respecting the Western Army.

Printed by B. Edes and Son, State-Street.

16½ x 17.

[This is a communication from Washington to Congress in relation to the defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair at Fort Washington; gives a list of the killed and wounded, also letters from St. Clair.]

1792.

An Act to Incorporate sundry Persons by the Name of "The President and Trustees of the Boston Tontine Association."

13 x 16½.

[Among the names mentioned in the Act are those of Stephen Higginson, Abiel Smith, David Greene, Oliver Wendell and Jonathan Amory.]

Reverend Sir, and Respected Gentlemen, The Convention of Congregational Ministers, with the Congregational Charitable Society, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, having appointed us a joint Committee for that purpose, we take leave to lay the following Address before you.

[Signed] Joseph Willard, James Sullivan, Chandler Robbins, Peter Thacher and eight others.

Boston, July 25, 1792.

11 x 18.

[The address states the objects of the Society and calls for contributions for widows and orphans of clergymen.]

Ode for the 23^d of October, 1792. Ten verses, beginning

"When form'd by God's creating Hand,
This beauteous fabrick first appear'd;
Eternal Wisdom gave command,
All nature with attention heard.

Two verses of the chorns.

Hail! Great Columbia! favor'd soil; &c.

10½ x 15.

[The Ode is given in full by E. E. Hale, D.D., in his paper on "The Results of Columbus's Discovery," Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, Vol. VIII. (New Series), page 192.]

1793.

Worcester, January 4th, 1793. A Circular asking that the State House be built in Worcester, and a proposition is made to raise money for that purpose. [Signed] Elijah Dix, Isaiah Thomas, Samuel Flagg, Nathaniel Paine, Daniel Waldo, jr., John Chamberlain, Phineas Jones, Benjamin Heywood, David Bigelow & John Barnard. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12$.

[It is stated that £1300 had been subscribed. In the library of the American Antiquarian Society there is a copy of a subscription paper dated Jany. 3, 1793, "for the purpose of erecting sufficient and convenient buildings for the accommodation of the Supreme Executive and Legislative, and for the offices of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Provided, there should be an Act of the Legislature, making *Worcester* the Seat of Government, or Partially so." Among the names printed on this subscription were: Elijah Dix £150, Isaiah Thomas £100, Nathaniel Paine £50 and £150 in land, John Stanton £30, Samuel Flagg £100.]

Harvard-University in Cambridge. The Order of the Exercises of Commencement, July 17th, MDCCXCIII. Printed by Thomas Fleet, Junior, Boston. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 17$.

Proclamation. By the President of the United States. Whereas it appears, that a state of War exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part; and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should, with sincerity and good faith, adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the Belligerent Powers, &c. [Signed] GEO. WASHINGTON.

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$.

These are the Predictions of John Nobles, Astrologer and Doctor. These are Written for the Year of Our Lord, 1794. [Dated] November 18th, 1793. Published according to Act of Congress. $9 \times 10\frac{3}{4}$.

[Predicts a temperate winter, the summer to be for the most part hot and sultry, making it sickly, &c. Trouble with the cattle is predicted so that many die and "flesh will be dear." "Many robberies happen this year," &c.]

[Cut of Execution.]

The Confession and Dying Words of Samuel Frost, who is to be Executed this Day, October 31, 1793, for the Horrid Crime of Murder.

Printed and sold at Mr. Thomas's Printing office, in Worcester. Price 6 d. Also, a Poem on the Occasion. Price 3 d.

17½ x 20½.

[The execution took place where the Asylum for Chronic Insane now stands. A sermon was preached before the execution by Rev. Aaron Bancroft.]

1794.

[Cut of a Large Serpent.]

The following is copied from the Journal kept by Mr. Jacob M. Berriman, during his tour to the Westward of Fort Recovery. May 27, 1794. Suffield: Printed by Edward Gray.

10¾ x 18.

[An account of "the most terrible Monster which mans eyes ever beheld, &c., &c." Any persons doubting the truth of it were asked to call at Mr. Peck's Museum in Philadelphia, where the skin was presented and satisfy themselves.]

Great News. By this Morning's Mail. Hartford, January 20, 1794.

8 x 13½.

[This is a communication received at Hartford and relates to an "express dispatched from Citizen Genet, at Philadelphia, to Citizen Hanterive, at New York," which states that "The Duke of York is taken with his whole Army; Toulon is re-taken, with every Ship in the Harbour," &c. The news is confirmed by a letter from Baltimore dated Jan. 3, 1794, to a gentleman in New York.]

To the Inhabitants of the Towns bordering upon and near to the River Merrimack. October 29, 1794.

9¼ x 14½.

[This is in regard to locks and canals; calls for a voluntary contribution to assist in building them. Gives the names of a large committee appointed to receive subscriptions.]

Table exhibiting a plan for the reduction of the Six per cent. Stock of the United States, agreeably to the right reserved to the public in the Act making provision for the Debt of the United States. December 27th, 1794.

10¾ x 17¼.

1795.

Information for Immigrants to the New-England States. Published by Order of the Immigrant Society in Boston. Thomas Russell, President. Boston, October 27, 1795.

14 x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Odes sung at the Feast of St. John, June 24, 1795. To a new tune.—By a Brother. Another to tune, Rule Britannia and one to tune—Attick Fire.

Each 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9.

1796.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled. The address and Memorial of the people called Quakers.

Signed on behalf and by direction of a Meeting appointed to represent our religious Society, held in Philadelphia the 10th day of the Second Month 1796.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

JOHN DRINKER, Clerk.

[The address is in relation to a Bill in contemplation for the establishment of a Militia throughout the United States, and the proposed exemption with respect to those who sincerely adhere to Gospel Conviction which is considered only nominal, and the noncompliance with the Bill will subject them to sufferings on account of their attachment to a principle which takes away the occasion for war, &c., &c.]

1797.

A letter. Signed, "A Friend to the Useful Arts" dated Philadelphia, January 31, 1797, in regard to duty on white cotton goods imported into this Country, hopes some measure will be found, however, to except those which are stained or printed in the United States, &c.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$.

1798.

General Orders. Head-Quarters, Roxbury, May 1, 1798.

[Signed] WILLIAM DONNISON, Adjutant-General

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$.

[In regard to the Militia. Ask that every individual will do his duty with alacrity, so that order may be maintained and discipline be established throughout the Militia of the State, &c., &c.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the House of Representatives, February 12th 1798. "On the Memorial of the Delegates of the Towns of Templeton, Barre, Princeton & others praying for a division of the County of Worcester.

Approved March 3 1798. [Signed] INCREASE SUMNER.

7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{8}$.

General Washington's Letter, Declaring his Acceptance of the Command of the Armies of the United States. July 17th, 1798. [Published for General Information.] 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 18.

Tax for the Year 1798. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Peleg Coffin, Esquire, Treasurer and Receiver-General of said Commonwealth. [Dated] March 24, 1798. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16.

[This is an Act to apportion and assess a Tax of one hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and eighty-one dollars, and fifty-three cents, &c. It is addressed to the Selectmen and Assessors of the Town of Worcester, whose proportion of the tax is \$855.28.]

1799.

To the Representatives of the Freemen of the United States of America; in Congress assembled: Memorial of Freemen of the County of Rutland, and State of Vermont. [Dated] January 1799. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[In regard to the Alien and Sedition Acts.]

Tax for the Year 1799. [Dated] March 28th, 1799. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16.

[The amount of tax for Worcester is the same as for the previous year.]

1800.

Proclamation by the President on the death of Washington.

[Signed] JOHN ADAMS.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Resolve by the Legislature providing for an Oration on Washington.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, President.

EDWARD H. ROBBINS, Speaker.

Jan'y 14, 1800.

15 x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Hymns, To be Sung on the 22d of Feb'y, 1800, in Middletown; The day appointed by Congress to Manifest our grief for the Death of Gen. George Washington. 4 x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Two hymns; one of eight verses, the other of four.]

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